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THE CHURCH AND STATE RESPONSIBLE TO CHRIST, AND TO ONE ANOTHER.

A Series of Discourses ON DANIEL'S VISION OF THE FOUR BEASTS.

BY THE

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TO THE

REVEREND SAMUEL MARTIN, D.D.,

MY VENERABLE GRANDFATHER-IN-LAW;

THE REVEREND JOHN MARTIN,

MY HONOURED FATHER-IN-LAW;

THE REVEREND SAMUEL MARTIN,

MY FAITHFUL BROTHER-IN-LAW;

AND TO ALL MY FATHERS AND BRETHREN

THE ORDAINED MINISTERS OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

REVEREND and well-beloved, the peace of God be with you, and with your flocks; the blessing of the great Head of the church preserve you from all heresy and schism; and the Holy Ghost give you plentiful fruit of your ministries.

I, who am your brother in the care of the baptized children of the Church of Scotland, having written this book upon the responsibility of the church and state to God, and to one another, can think of none to whom it may be so well dedicated, as to you, the heads of the Scottish Church, the Established Ministers of the Scottish kingdom. Accept, I pray you, the offering of my thoughts and labours, however unworthy the great subject, as a tribute of my gratitude to the Church of Scotland, and a token of my fealty to the good cause in which our Fathers laboured, many of them sealing their testimony with their blood.

I had purposed, if God had permitted, to bring before the last General Assembly of the Church, some measure which would have embraced my doctrine, and represented the sense I have of the late acts of the kingdom, respecting Dissenters and Papists; and to have done what in me lay, to clear the church of the guilt of acquiescence, or of silence, when such great wickedness was transacted by the estates of the kingdom, whose counsellors we are in all things which concern the honour and glory of Christ. But the providence of God, which is wisest and best, saw it good to prevent this purpose of my heart, and likewise to forbid that any other Member of the General Assembly should bring forward such a measure. Whether this was permitted in judgment, or in mercy, time will shew; but my present conviction is, that it was in judgment. Of this my purpose, having been prevented by an all-wise Providence, I feel it to be the more my duty now to dedicate the substance of my thoughts on these subjects to you, my reverend Fathers and Brethren; and through you to present them to the Mother Church, of which you are the Representatives.

The doctrine which I have taught in these discourses, concerning the responsibility of the kingdom, and of the church, is the constant doctrine which hath been taught from the days of the Apostles until now, and which

is embodied everywhere in the standards of our Church. Of kings, I have taught, "that they are the lieutenants of God, in whose sessions God himself doth sit and judge.....that they are appointed not only for civil policy, but also for the maintenance of the true religion, and for suppressing of all idolatry and superstition whatsoever," as it is written in the Scottish Confession of Faith, Art. XXIV. I have taught also, according to the Second Book of Discipline, chap. 10, that kings may not "usurp any thing that pertains not to the civil sword, but belongs to the offices that are merely ecclesiastical, as is the ministry of the word and sacraments, using ecclesiastical discipline, and the spiritual execution thereof, or any part of the power of the spiritual keys, which our Master gave to the Apostles, and to their true successors." I have taught, that "the civil magistrate hath authority, and it is his duty to take order, that unity and peace be preserved in the church; that the truth of God be kept pure and entire; that all blasphemies and heresies be suppressed; all corruptions and abuses in worship and discipline prevented or reformed; and all the ordinances of God duly settled and ministered, and observed; for the better effecting whereof, he hath power to call synods, to be present at them, and to provide that whatever is transacted in them be according to the mind of God." (Westminster

Confession, chap. xxxiii.) These ancient heads of doctrine I have maintained, well-beloved brethren, against the modern innovations of schismatics and politicians, who teach that the civil magistrate hath his power and dignity from the people, and not from Christ, and ruleth for the people, and not for Christ; and that it is an evil thing for the state to establish the church, or in any way to seek to promote one form of religion rather than another. The error and the mischief of their doctrine consisteth in this, that they look upon the people as if they were not Christ's, purchased by his blood, nor cared for by his providence; and they look upon Christ as if he were not the Prince of the kings of the earth, and the Lord of all the people upon the earth: and thus they are guilty of the most deadly schism, in separating the government of nations from the government of Christ. Against these subversions of the responsibility of the state, reverend brethren, let us contend mightily.

I have taught, secondly, concerning the church, that "there is no other head of the church but the Lord Jesus Christ; nor can the Pope of Rome, in any sense, be head thereof, but is that Antichrist, that man of sin, and son of perdition, that exalteth himself in the church against Christ, and all that is called God." (Westminster Confession, chap. xxv.) I have also taught, that "where

the ministry of the kirk is once lawfully constitute, and they that are placed do their office faithfully, all godly princes and magistrates ought to hear and obey their voice, and reverence the majesty of God speaking in them." (Second Book of Discipline, chap. x.) And concerning the obedience of the church unto the magistrate, I have taught, that "Infidelity, or difference in religion, doth not make void the magistrate's just and legal authority, nor free the people from their due obedience to him; from which ecclesiastical persons are not exempted, much less hath the Pope any power or jurisdiction over them, in their dominions, or over any of their people, and least of all to deprive them of their dominions, or lives, if he shall judge them to be heretics, or upon any other pretence whatsoever." (Westminster Confession, chap. xxiii.)

And concerning the mutual bearings, the action, and the re-action, and general relations of power civil, and power ecclesiastical, to one another, I have taught, as it is written in the first chapter of the Second Book of Discipline, that "These two kinds of powers have both one authority, one ground, one final cause, but are different in the manner and form of execution; that this power and policy ecclesiastical is different and distinct, in their own nature, from that power and policy which is called civil power, and appertaineth to the civil government of the com-

monwealth: albeit they be both of God, and tend to one end if they be rightly used, to wit, to advance the glory of God, and to have godly and good subjects.....that the civil power should command the spiritual to exercise and do their office according to the will of God. The spiritual rulers should require the Christian magistrate to minister justice, and punish vice, and to maintain the liberty and quietness of the kirk within their bounds. And as the ministers and others of the ecclesiastical state are subject to the magistrate civil, so ought the person of the magistrate be subject to the kirk spiritually and in ecclesiastical government; and the exercise of both these jurisdictions cannot stand in one person ordinarily." These and other heads of ancient doctrine have I maintained in this book, which I dedicate to you, reverend brethren, hoping and well believing to find in you the kindliest patronage, and faithfullest support of those great principles of church and state which by our ordination vows we are bound to maintain.

In these days of false and spurious liberality, many will think that I have dealt severely by the Papal Apostacy in the church. I think it good therefore, through you, well-beloved brethren, to justify myself unto the Church of Scotland, to which I owe reverence and responsibility, by shewing out of her books that I am herein walking in the footsteps of the Fathers, and animated by their spirit of

love for the truth, and hatred to the error; while, like them, I pity the souls that are locked up in the error, and would do my part to deliver them, by exposing the diabolical incantations and spells by which they are held in beastly thraldom. In the Scotch Confession of Faith, the foundation stone of our church, these sentences occur in reference to the Papacy:—Art. IX. "After the which we confess and avow, that there remaineth no other sacrifice for sin; which if any affirm, we nothing doubt to avow that they are blasphemous against Christ's death, and the everlasting purgation and satisfaction purchased to us by the same." This is spoken against the abomination of the Mass. And against the usurpation of the Pope as head of the church, it is declared in Art. XI. "In which honours and offices, if man or angel presume to intrude themselves, we utterly detest and abhor them as blasphemous to our Sovereign and Supreme Governor, Christ Jesus." And with respect to the doctrine of merit, and works of supererogation, it is thus declared in Art. XV. "And therefore whosoever boast themselves of merits of their own works, or put their trust in works of supererogation, boast themselves of that which is not right, and put their trust in damnable idolatry." I may refer to the whole of the XVIIIth article, "of the Notes whereby the true Church is discerned from the false, and who shall judge of the Doc-

trine," which is expressly written against the Papacy, there denominated "the horrible harlot, the kirk malignant." Under the XXIId Article, "Of the right Administration of the Sacraments," it is thus written: "And therefore it is that we flee the doctrine of the Papistical church, in participation of their sacraments; first, because their ministers are no ministers of Christ Jesus, yea, which is more horrible, they suffer women, whom the Holy Ghost will not suffer to teach in the congregation, to baptize; and secondly, because they have so adulterated both the one sacrament and the other with their own inventions, that no part of Christ's actions abides in the original purity, for oil, salt, spittle, and such like in baptism are but men's inventions. Adoration, veneration, bearing through streets and towns, and keeping of bread in boxes or buists, are profanations of Christ's sacraments, and no use of the same. For Christ Jesus said, 'Take eat, &c.; Do this in remembrance of me:' by which words and charge, he sanctified bread and wine to be the sacrament of his holy body and blood, to the end that the one should be eaten, and that all should drink of the other; and not that they should be kept to be worshipped and honoured as gods as the Papists have done heretofore; who also have committed sacrilege, stealing from the people the one part of the sacrament,—to wit, the blessed cup.....But to what end and to what opinion

the priests say their Mass, let the words of the same, their own doctors and writings witness,—to wit, that they, as mediators between Christ and his church, do offer unto God the Father a sacrifice propitiatory for the sins of the quick and dead; which doctrine as blasphemous to Jesus Christ, and making derogation to the sufficiency of his only sacrifice once offered for purgation of all those that shall be sanctified, we utterly abhor, detest, and renounce."—Such is the noble testimony which is made against the Papacy by our fathers of the Reformation; and the same language speaketh the Westminster Confession, which expressly declareth the Pope to be "that Antichrist, that man of sin, and son of perdition, that exalteth himself in the church against Christ, and all that is called God."

And now with respect to the duty of the civil magistrate towards the Papal superstition, let me quote one or two passages from our books of discipline. The third head of the first book, touching the abolishing of idolatry, thus nobly expresseth the truth: "As we require Christ Jesus to be truly preached, and his sacraments to be rightly ministered, so we cannot cease to require idolatry, with all monuments and places of the same, as abbeys, monkeries, friaries, nunneries, chapels, chantries, cathedral churches, canonries, colleges (not *universities*, for the ordering of which there is a special head of discipline),

others than presently are parish churches or schools, to be utterly suppressed in all bounds and places of this realm, as also that idolatry may be removed from the presence of all persons, of what estate or condition soever they be, within this realm. For, let your honours assuredly be persuaded, that where idolatry is maintained or permitted, where it may be suppressed, that there shall God's wrath reign, not only upon the blind and obstinate idolater, but also the negligent sufferers, especially if God hath armed their hands with power to suppress such abominations. By idolatry, we understand the Mass, invocation of saints, adoration of images, and the keeping and retaining of the same, and finally, all honouring of God not contained in his holy word." To this testimony of our Fathers of the sixteenth century, I might add the National Covenant, which is nothing else than a solemn protestation against the Papacy, and bulwark raised up by all hands within the kingdom, to defend the liberties of the church and state from all such invasions. But the best declarations upon this subject, are the acts of the kingdom in the first parliament of James the Sixth; First, abolishing the Pope and his usurped authority; Secondly, annulling all acts of parliament made against God's word, and for the maintenance of idolatry in any time bye past; Thirdly, for the abolishing the Mass, and punishing all that

hear or say the same; Fourthly, ordaining the oath to be taken by the king at his coronation; Fifthly, preventing any person who professes not the Reformed religion, from being a judge, procurator, notary, or member of court; and many other acts of the like kind, carrying into effect the principles which had been taught by our Reformers. I might next refer to the acts passed in the second parliament of the First Charles, appointing the oath to be taken by every member of parliament; which makes "the honour, greatness, and happiness of the king's royal majesty, and the welfare of the subjects, to depend on the purity of religion as it is now established in this kingdom;" and resteth every thing upon that which is expressed in the National Covenant: and likewise to the act for abolishing all monuments of idolatry, and another act discharging the observation of superstitious days, and indeed to a thousand other deeds of the realm of Scotland, every one carrying into effect the great principle, that the Papacy is a thing of such fatal effects to king and people, as that it should be prevented, abolished, and suppressed by all possible means. These sentiments of our Fathers concerning the duties of kings in respect of the Papacy, were at length, by the blessing of God upon two centuries of faithful testimony and suffering, secured by the Claim of Right, presented by the estates of Scotland unto William and

Mary, and by them solemnly ratified at the Revolution; amongst the articles of which stand forth the following; "That by the law of this kingdom, no Papist can be king or queen of this realm, nor bear any office whatsoever therein." "That the allowing Popish books to be printed and dispersed, is contrary to law." Add to this an act soon after passed, I remember not exactly when, making it the highest crime and guilt, I think high treason, to propose meddling or altering any thing contained in the Claim of Right: and further, add the articles of Union, of which it was not only one article, but the fundamental condition to an union, that the religion of Scotland then established, should remain so for ever:—Reverend fathers and brethren, let all these deeds and documents of our fathers be taken into account, and say ye whether I have not spoken as becometh a minister of the Church of Scotland, concerning the late great act of national apostacy.

It only remaineth, brethren beloved in the Lord, that I should assure you, that in all which I have written here or elsewhere concerning the coming and the kingdom of the Son of Man, I have not spoken against any article of the Church, but simply, as the preacher ought ever to do, opened what in the article is contained in an implicit form. I have maintained the doctrine of a personal advent held by all the Fathers, against the doc-

trine of a spiritual advent, now creeping into the church. I have maintained the doctrine of Christ's coming to destroy Antichrist, which in all our standards is maintained, against the doctrine, now creeping into the church, of Antichrist's being converted by the preaching of the word. I have maintained the doctrine of Christ's coming to judge the quick and the dead, against the doctrine now creeping into the church that he is coming only to judge the dead. The day of judgment indeed, or the last day, concerning the duration of which nothing is asserted in our standards, I have opened in this, and more especially in some other works, to be, not a day of so many hours, but that "thousand years" mentioned in the xxth chapter of Revelations, and referred to in the xcth Psalm, in the vith chapter of John, in the iiid chapter of 2 Peter, and indeed every where in Scripture, as the day of the first resurrection, as the day of the judgment of the quick, as the day of the destruction of Antichrist, which, beginning in the morning of the first resurrection, doth end in the judgment of the dead. Be ye judges, reverend Fathers and Brethren, whether in this I offend against the standards of the Church, which I do open in their true, literal sense; and which many that oppose these interpretations do refine away into spiritual meanings, which not only do not satisfy the letter, but even make it void. This one

thing I do: The day of judgment I interpret of a period of judgment, beginning with the judgment of Antichrist, continuing in the judgment of the quick, and ending in the judgment of the dead. As this present dispensation of the Gospel is by the prophet Isaiah and by the Apostle Paul called the day of salvation, the day of grace; so I believe the blessed period which we look for upon the earth, is that which in Scripture is called the day of judgment, the day of righteousness; at which, not after which, it is declared, in the standards of all churches, Christ cometh again to the earth to judge the quick and the dead,—but in none of them is it declared that he ever goeth away again.

Bear with me, my reverend fathers and brethren, while I thus declare and justify in your hearing the most orthodox doctrine of our church, which I maintain in this, as in all my writings: for I am not ignorant of the many enemies who bear unto your ear false reports concerning the doctrine of your faithful brother; whose malice, while I weep over it, I would fain prevent from prejudicing your brotherly love and good esteem of one who hath been ever faithful and true to the Church of Scotland. I expect that the faithful in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution. Law permitteth not the persecution of spoliation, and of blood, but it preventeth not the persecution of slander and falsehood: and

while I keep the post against schismatics and sectarians, and heretics both in church and state, I expect no quarter from them, nor desire none; but fain would I, if God graciously order it so, stand well in the community of your love, prayers, and good opinions: wherefore, I pray you the rather to resist all evil reports, and to receive me in that character in which I stand represented in my written works. Think not, well-beloved brethren, that these things are spoken in defence of myself, for I am conscious of no offence; nor in anticipation of any evil from you, for charity hopeth all things, and Christian fortitude braveth all things: but I do confess that they are spoken in the desire to preserve my good name, as a churchman and as a Christian, with those whom I love and honour as my brethren and fathers in the church.

I cannot conclude this Dedication without one word of a more personal and domestic kind, addressed to my excellent kinsmen, the representatives of three generations, grandfather, father, and son, all labouring together in the vineyard of the Lord. It recals to our minds some shadow of the Patriarchal times, to behold a man, within one year of ninety, fulfilling the laborious duties of a Scottish Minister, by the side of his son and his son's son, and with as much vigour as they; adhering to the constant practice of

the Fathers, in giving a double discourse in the morning, and another in the afternoon, of the Lord's day. It is like the blessing of Caleb, whose natural force was not abated by forty years' journeying in the wilderness, and by the wars of taking possession of the promised land. So mayest thou, venerable sire, by strength of faith and strength of arm, gain for thyself thine inheritance; and may the mantle of thy piety, and faithfulness, and joy descend unto thy children, and thy children's children, and their children also.

Now, fare ye all well, my fellow-labourers. The God of grace and consolation bless your persons, your wives, your little ones, your flocks; and make you ever to abide the faithful watchmen of the spiritual bulwarks of old Scotland, which hath been strengthened of God to stand so many storms, and to come out of them all strong and mighty, rooted in the truth, and adorned with the beauty and the faithfulness of an intelligent, upright, and religious people. Farewell, my beloved brethren, remember in your love, faith, and hope, and in your prayers make mention of, those from amongst your children who are sojourning beyond your borders, and endeavouring to preserve in all regions of the world the honours of your great and good name.

EDWARD IRVING.

National Scotch Church, London,
July 6, 1829.

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DISCOURSE I.

DANIEL vii.

In the first year of Belshazzar king of Babylon, Daniel had a dream, and visions of his head upon his bed: then he wrote the dream, and told the sum of the matters. Daniel spake, and said, I saw in my vision by night, and behold the four winds of the heaven strove upon the great sea. And four great beasts came up from the sea diverse one from another. The first was like a lion, and had eagle's wings: and I beheld till the wings thereof were plucked, and it was lifted up from the earth, and made stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it. And behold another beast, a second, like to a bear, and it raised up itself on one side, and it had three ribs in the mouth of it between the teeth of it: and they said thus unto it, Arise, devour much flesh. After this I beheld, and, lo, another like a leopard, which had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl, the beast had also four heads; and dominion was given to it. After this I saw in the night-visions, and behold, a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible; and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth: it devoured and brake in pieces, and

stamped the residue with the feet of it, and it was diverse from all the beasts that were before it, and it had ten horns. I considered the horns, and behold, there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots: and behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things. I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool; his throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire. A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him: thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the judgment was set, and the books were opened. I beheld then, because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake; I beheld, even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame. As concerning the rest of the beasts, they had their dominon taken away: yet their lives were prolonged for a season and time. I saw in the night visions, and, behold, one like the Son of Man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed. I Daniel was grieved in my spirit in the midst of my body, and the visions of my head troubled me. I came near unto one of them that stood by, and asked him the truth of all this. So he told me, and made me know the interpretation of the things. These great beasts, which are four, are four kings, which shall arise out of the earth. But the saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever. Then I would know the truth of the fourth beast, which was diverse from all the others, exceeding

dreadful, whose teeth were iron, and his nails of brass; which devoured, brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with his feet; and of the ten horns that were in his head, and of the other which came up, and before whom three fell; even of that horn that had eyes, and a mouth that spake very great things, whose look was more stout than his fellows. I beheld, and the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them; until the Ancient of days came, and judgment was given to the saints of the Most High; and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom. Thus he said, The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall be diverse from all kingdoms, and shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces. And the ten horns out of this kingdom are ten kings that shall arise: and another shall rise after them; and he shall be diverse from the first, and he shall subdue three kings. And he shall speak great words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High, and think to change times and laws: and they shall be given into his hand, until a time and times and the dividing of time. But the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and to destroy it unto the end. And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him. Hitherto is the end of the matter. As for me Daniel, my cogitations much troubled me, and my countenance changed in me; but I kept the matter in my heart.

Of the honour and dignity which hath been given to the prophet Daniel in God's word, by the Holy Ghost, there are two or three instances so remarkable, that I cannot help mentioning them in your hearing, in order to excite in you a due

reverence for the holy man of God, whose vision of the four beasts we are now about to examine. The first, is that most honourable mention which is made of him, twice over, in the xiv th chapter of Ezekiel; where God, speaking by the mouth of that prophet, concerning his judgments upon the house of Israel, how universal they should be, and how utterly all intercession should be cut off, doth four several times use these words, "Though Noah, Daniel, and Job were in the land, as I live, saith the Lord God, they shall deliver neither son nor daughter: they shall deliver but their own souls by their righteousness." Here behold what excellent honour is put upon the prophet Daniel, that he should be singled out from all men, since the days of the patriarchs, for his righteousness; and counted worthy to be set by the side of Noah, the only excepted one of all the antediluvians; and by the side of Job, the one elected out of all the patriarchal saints to stand the proof of Satan's utmost malice and power. And at the time that Daniel had such excellent honour given unto him by the Holy Ghost in the mouth of the prophet Ezekiel, he was but a youth of thirty years, and had only received the interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's vision of the great image. So much for Daniel's righteousness. And now for the testimony which God giveth concerning his wisdom: hear it, as it is written in the xxviii th chapter of Ezekiel; where God, speaking concerning the Prince of Tyrus, his great wisdom and his great understanding, useth these words: "Behold, thou art wiser than Daniel: there is no secret that they can hide from thee."

And this also was spoken while Daniel was yet a youth, about his fortieth year; and ere yet he had received more than the interpretation referred to above. Now, when we remember how unusual it is in the holy Scriptures to refer to persons at all as examples of perfection; and that it is entirely unprecedented, in the severe and dignified style of prophecy, to refer in this way to a living person; we may well conceive what a distinction this is, and what must have been the singular endowments of him upon whom it was bestowed. It is not as if it occurred in the historical parts of Scripture, or in the epistolary, or in the narrative; but that it should occur in the prophetic, and in the sublime raptures of the prophet Ezekiel, doth evince to me, that God had a purpose in it of commending his servant Daniel to the Jewish nation first, and then to the church in all times, as a person above all other persons gifted with righteousness and wisdom, in order to be the fit depositary of God's most distinct and secret counsels unto his church.

I do not speak further concerning the honours put upon Daniel, by our Lord's quoting him by his name, Matt. xxiv. 15.—"When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the Prophet, stand in the holy place"—because I have three things to mention out of the New Testament, which not only concern the honour of Daniel as a prophet in general, but the particular and special honour of this vision which I have undertaken to open. It is no exaggeration, dear brethren, but the very truth, when I say that this seventh chapter of Daniel

is the portion of the Old Testament which hath been the most signally honoured in the New. This assertion I rest upon these three grounds, to which I call your particular attention :—First, all the language in which the Gospel was first preached, by the Baptist, by our Lord, and by his Apostles, and in which it should be preached still, is derived from this very vision. What did the Baptist preach? "Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." (Matt. iii. 2.) What did Christ preach? "From that time Jesus began to preach, and to say, Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." (Matt. iv. 17.) What were the twelve Apostles sent to preach to the lost sheep of the house of Israel? "As ye go, preach, saying, The kingdom of heaven is at hand." (Matt. x. 7.) And what did he command the seventy to preach? "Say unto them, The kingdom of God is come nigh unto you.....Notwithstanding, be ye sure of this, that the kingdom of God is come nigh unto you." (Luke x. 9.) And what was Saul of Tarsus called to preach? Hear his own words, in his charge to the elder-ship of Ephesus: "And now, behold, I know that ye all, among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God, shall see my face no more." (Acts xx. 25.)—Now, what meaneth this constant preaching of "the kingdom of heaven to be at hand," if the people to whom they preached knew not already what the kingdom of God was, nor stood in expectation and desire of it? What would it avail a missionary to go to the New-Zealanders, or the Caffres, or to the Chinese, and preach to them, as the Baptist, the Lord,

the Twelve, and the Seventy, did to the Jews, and Paul to the Gentiles also, "The kingdom of God is at hand?" It would excite no stir of emotion in the hearts of the people. They would say, "What kingdom? What kingdom of God?" And so the missionary would be constrained to teach them, that from the beginning God had purposed to establish a kingdom upon the earth, and to send forth his own Son to be King thereof. But the Lord gave no such explanations; neither did the Apostles; because the Jews certainly needed no preliminary instruction concerning this kingdom of God, which was indeed the great cardinal hope of the nation; their pole-star during the darkness and oppression of the night; their palladium, as a nation and a people, in the midst of innumerable oppressors. And the Gentiles also, especially of the East, and as far west as the Roman literature extended, and there is reason to believe also in the recesses and secresies of Druidical learning and worship, had the expectation of some Wonderful Personage, who was to come out from God, and establish a kingdom of peace and blessedness upon the earth; which, there can be no doubt that the Gentiles had, in a great measure, from the Jews scattered abroad, and from the remains of the Patriarchal traditions still subsisting in the midst of them.

The question then is, And whence did the Jews derive their expectations of the kingdom of God, with which, as with a talisman, the Lord and his Apostles did arouse and awaken the attention of the people to that which they had to deliver? I

answer: They derived it from all the Scriptures, but especially from the prophet Daniel. That God was to establish a kingdom upon the earth in the latter day, of which Messiah was to be the King, is the testimony of all Scripture, from the first unto the last. But, though the same be every where laid down as consequent upon the long captivity of the Jews, and preceded by a universal judgment upon the kings and people of the earth, and attended with the restoration of the Jewish people, and followed by the blessing of all nations, yet is it no where laid down in the order of succession, under the conditions of time and circumstance, as it is in the second, and especially in this seventh, chapter of Daniel; where, after a succession of four kingdoms, which are particularly described, and which it will be our business to open; and after the judgment of the last of them, which, as we shall see, is Papal Christendom; it is said, verse 13, "I saw in the night visions, and, behold, one like the Son of Man came in the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of Days, and they brought him near before him: and there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages should serve him. His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed." This is the kingdom of heaven, given by the Ancient of Days to the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven. The thing which is given, must first belong to him that gives it, who is the Eternal; and so it is "the kingdom of God;" or "the kingdom of heaven," given unto the Son of

Man coming in the "clouds of heaven." It is also called (verse 18) the kingdom of the holy ones of the Most High: "But the saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever;" and (verse 22) "Until the Ancient of Days came, and judgment was given to the saints of the Most High; and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom." But still more directly is it called the kingdom of the Most High in verse 27: "And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him."

This distinct, oft-repeated, and that by different names, "kingdom of heaven," "kingdom of the Most High God," "kingdom of the Son of Man," "kingdom over all nations under heaven," "kingdom of the saints," "everlasting kingdom," is here so fixed in the order of time and succession, so precisely and determinately fixed (as we shall see in the sequel), that this vision becomes, as it were, the recapitulation and summing up of all former prophecies concerning it; and therefore, like the sentence of a judge, when the information and argument has been completed, it is constantly referred to in the New Testament; the chief end of our Lord's instructions to the Jews being nothing else than to correct false notions, both as to time and circumstance, which they entertained concerning this kingdom; but by no means to change, but in every way to confirm and establish, the expectation itself. This will the more clearly

appear, when we shall have drawn your attention to the other two ways in which it hath pleased the Holy Ghost to honour this singular vision.

The second seal of honour with which God hath stamped this vision, is by referring so often to it, under the words, the "Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven." This is the only part of the Old Testament in which this remarkable expression occurreth; and, indeed, except in one or two of the Psalms, it is the only passage of the Old Testament where Messiah is denominated the Son of Man. So that we may say, that every where in the New Testament, where he is spoken of as "the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven," or even where he is spoken of as the Son of Man, this vision of Daniel is referred to. Now you all do know, being versed in the New Testament, how constantly the Lord Jesus takes to himself this title, "the Son of Man." It is the name which he continually giveth to himself amongst the Jews. He hinted occasionally at his being the Son of God, but he ordinarily denominated himself the "Son of Man," and always spoke of himself by that name as coming in his kingdom. "When the Son of Man shall come in his kingdom," "When the Son of Man shall come in the clouds of heaven," are expressions familiar to every reader of the Gospel: so familiar, then, to them should this vision of Daniel also be, from which, and from which alone, these names are derived; and to which the Lord specially called the attention of every one who heard him; and to which he still calleth the attention of every one who believeth his word.

But still more remarkable is the third way in which the attention of the church is drawn to this remarkable prophecy. This is by the structure and language of a chief part of the Apocalypse. The visions of the xiith, xiiith, and xviith chapters of the Apocalypse, are wholly written in the symbolical language of this prophecy. The beast with ten horns—the period, time, times, and half a time—forty and two months—one thousand two hundred and sixty days—are no where to be found but in this very vision, and another which referreth to it. So that I may say, the whole delineation of Antichrist in the Apocalypse is but an expansion of the chief part of this vision; the fourth kingdom, including in it all that is contained in the xiith, xiiith, and xviith chapters of the Apocalypse—that is, including Rome in its Pagan state, Rome in its Papal state, Rome in its Infidel state, Rome with its crowned heads, Rome with its crowned horns, and Rome with its heads and horns uncrowned.

But surely enough hath been said, to enhance, in the minds of all believers, the importance of this vision of the Prophet Daniel, on which we are now to enter; and to justify what we said at the outset, that as there is no prophet—and I might almost say, no man—who hath received the like honour with Daniel, the "man much beloved of God;" so no prophecy of Daniel, no portion of the Old Testament, hath received such honour as this, into which we are proceeding to inquire.

There can be no doubt, therefore, that this chapter of Daniel is a great fountain-head of doc-

trine, and for that reason a proper text from which to draw forth copious instruction concerning any one of these three great subjects, the rise, actions, and destruction of the beast with ten horns, which we shall identify with the Roman Empire; and especially the acts of the little horn, which we shall identify with the Pope of Rome; the Holy Ghost himself having made this chapter the text of his discourse thereof in the Apocalypse. And this is the purpose to which we intend chiefly to turn it in these discourses, but not entirely; for the destruction of the ten-horned beast being immediately followed with the coming of the Son of Man in the clouds of heaven, and the suppression of the kingdom overruled by the little horn being immediately followed by the establishment of the everlasting kingdom of the saints ruled by the Son of Man, it would be altogether to mar the beauty and completeness, and to interrupt the continuity, of the vision, were we to stop short at the end of the fourth kingdom, and not exhibit the world restored, refreshed, and for ever blessed, by the kingdom of the saints. This, therefore, must be the order of our discourse. *First*, to gather the end and scope of the vision, and to lay down the method adopted by the Holy Ghost therein. *Secondly*, to identify the first three beasts with those three successive kingdoms to which they refer; passing over this part of the subject somewhat more rapidly, as it forms only the introduction to the great subject of the vision, which is, the fourth beast with ten horns, overruled by the little horn, more stout than his fellows. And now

being arrived at the body of our discourse, which is, from the particulars given of the fourth beast as our text, to draw out the enormities and blasphemies, and consequent judgment and final destruction, of the Papal Roman empire, we shall give unto all the things of the prophecies concerning it the fixture of time, place, and circumstance, according to the word of God written thereof in all parts of Scripture, especially in the Apocalypse. Then, *fourthly*, it will fall to discourse of the kingdom of the saints, under the Son of Man, which is prophesied to succeed these tribulations of the world, and to stand for ever. These are the four heads of discourse; the first introductory, the second very short, the two last very long.

Now, before entering on this large field of discourse, I may be allowed one remark, equally necessary to be kept in mind both by the preacher and by the hearers of these lectures; which is, That, forasmuch as I favour not, and have never ensued, the mixing up of personal rancour, party heats, or political disputes, with the exposition of God's holy word; while, on the other hand, I have ever abhorred, as the ruin of church and state, the absurd and most false doctrine of our Dissenters and Dissenting Churchmen, that politics have nothing to do with religion, and that the state ought to proceed with its business wholly irrespective of men's religious beliefs; I have preferred to deduce all that I have to say against the Papacy, which is no little, in the way of regular and just interpretation of holy writ, rather than to draw it forth according to any order of method of my own

invention. I believe that the crisis of this nation is come; and that upon the question now at issue in the kingdom—for the whole kingdom is now roused to consider it—depends the salvation or perdition of this island for ever: and believing this, I feel it to be my duty to take lot and part in the issues with the land of my fathers. I do not disguise upon which side I take my stand: I contend as a Protestant subject of Protestant Britain against the antichristian system of church and state which acknowledgeth the Pope. I take my stand as a minister of the Reformed Protestant Church of Scotland, to contend against the apostate Church of Rome, which ever holdeth every Reformed Church to be heretical and schismatical. But while I am not ashamed to avow that it is as a Protestant, and a Protestant churchman, that I take up the weapons of this controversy, I never forget that I am a minister of Christ, a preacher of the Gospel unto all men, a debtor both to the Papist and to the Protestant; and I can solemnly give the pledge, that not for all that is dear to me in this the land of my fathers, nor yet for all that is more dear to me in my mother church, would I be found knowingly to wrest a jot or tittle of God's word, or to teach men to do so. Therefore I have proposed to myself a text, and that a large one, and a much-honoured one; in the expounding which, believe me, I shall ever keep uppermost in my mind the chief dignity of my office,—faithfully and truly, according to my light, to speak after the oracles of God. Therefore be ye entreated, O my brethren, to hear me with the more patience, and with the more readiness, when you know that I speak only that

which I hear in God's holy word. And with these words of introduction, necessary to give its true dignity to the subject-matter of our discourse, and to explain the awful importance of such discourse in this particular crisis of the kingdom and the church, I do now proceed, trusting to God's Spirit of truth and love, to open in order this vision of Daniel, which is contained in the seventh chapter of the book of his prophecies.

I am then, in the first place, and in the way of introduction, to explain the scope and end and lay down the method of the vision. The scope and end of the vision is easily gathered, from the vision itself, to be the oppression and spoliation and sore tribulation of the saints of the Most High, until after a certain time, when they obtain deliverance, and receive from the Most High the power of judging and avenging themselves of their enemies, and are put in possession of an everlasting kingdom. This is the scope of the vision, —the history of the long humiliation and final exaltation of the saints; the church militant ending in the church triumphant for ever and ever. While I think no one will dispute that this is the great scope and end of the vision, it must further be observed, that this controversy against the saints is not introduced until the period of the fourth beast, and the rising up of the little horn with eyes like the eyes of a man and a mouth speaking great things; for it is this same horn which maketh war with the saints, and prevaileth against them. We may say therefore, a little more precisely, the scope and end of the vision is the warfare between the saints and the little horn, which, as we shall

see, is the Pope; the mastery which the little horn hath over them, for a time and times and the dividing of time; then the power which the saints receive to judge him and the whole body of the fourth beast which he actuated, and to destroy it, and to give it to the burning flame; and then quietly to possess the kingdom, under the Son of Man, for ever and ever. This, the issue of the controversy between the little horn actuating the fourth beast (that is, the Pope actuating the Roman empire) on the one hand, and the saints, (that is, the church of Christ), upon the other hand, is what I would call the specific characteristic and distinctive end of the vision. But, in addition to this the special object of this vision, there is a largeness and universality in it, to which our attention must likewise be given. This is contained in these words, which are the first interpretation of the angel: "These great beasts, which are four, are four kings, which shall arise out of the earth; but the saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for ever and ever, even for ever and ever." In these words the substance of the vision is stated to be, a fourfold succession or form of kingdom, which should arise out of the earth but which should not endure for ever; whereas that of the saints, which should after them arise, should possess the kingdom of the earth for ever. The two being set in opposition to each other, doth insinuate that the four monarchies would be some how or other in opposition to the saints: and this is confirmed by the action of the last beast, under the little horn, which is represented as altogether directed againts the saints. We may therefore say, that the more general scope

and end of the vision is to shew the oppression of the earth for a long season under four rampant raging beasts, and its final deliverance out of their fangs by the consuming judgments of the Most High upon the last and the stoutest of them all. Therefore, I would state the scope of the vision to be first general, and then special. The general being the history of the oppressions and tyrannies of the earth, until a great era in the purpose and providence of God arrive; when the earth shall be delivered out of the hands of her brutal oppressors, and given into the power and holy government of the saints, to be by them and under them for ever blessed. And the special scope and end of the vision is, to set forth by marked characters, and in strong relief, a strange and deadly attempt of a most subtle power wholly to extirpate the saints of the Most High; and into whose hands they are given for a fixed period, till the arrival of the great epoch mentioned above; when that usurping power, with all over whom he obtained the head and mastery, are utterly consumed by the express judgments of God, exercised through the means of the saints; who thereupon enter into the undisturbed and untroubled inheritance of the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom, under the whole heaven.—Such we take to be the scope of the vision: generally, to shew the redemption of the earth from brutal to saintly government; specially, to shew the issues of the controversy between the little horn and the saints; that is, between the Pope, backed by his ten kings, and the saints, upholden, and finally rewarded, by the Son of Man.

And now having ascertained the scope of the vision, we come to examine the method of it.

The method is by symbols and interpretation of the symbols. With respect to symbolical prophecies in general, as those of Daniel and St. John, the method observed by the Holy Ghost is this: first, to set out the matter by means of the symbols; and secondly, to give such a key of interpretation to those symbols as may be sufficient to guide wise and considerate men, who well weigh Scripture, and compare Scripture with Scripture; who seek by prayer for the Spirit of interpretation, and have faith to believe that God both can and will open by his Spirit things to come, and make prophecy to be unto his church for a star in the night. To men, I say, of such principles, and of such faith, there is given from the mouth of God, in every symbolical prophecy, such a key of interpretation as is sufficient to open unto them the recesses of the Divine purpose, which are closed upon the ignorant and unbelieving, upon the rash and presumptuous, by the cunning lock of symbolical language. The method of this vision, therefore, like that of other symbolical visions, is twofold: first, the symbolical representation, or narrative of the event contained in the prophecy; and, secondly, the interpretation given thereof unto Daniel, and a further interpretation which Daniel asks and receives of this Divine interpreter.

Now, with respect to the symbolical representation, which extendeth over the first fourteen verses of the chapter, it is at once rich, various, and strikingly contrasted in its parts. The first four

kingdoms are represented by four beasts, the lion, the bear, the leopard, and a monster which hath no name, but a plentiful description; whereas the fifth kingdom is a kingdom of thrones, the seats of royal men; yea, the seats of holy men; for it is to the saints these thrones are given: at the same time, not to them independently, but to them as being under one, who is called "the Son of Man," and concerning whose identity there is not any doubt. What then have we signified by this contrast, but this one thing, that until the occurrence of that event signified by the casting (or rather planting) down of the thrones of judgment, and the coming of the Son of Man from heaven, there should be no humane, holy, reasonable, equitable government under the whole heaven; but, contrariwise, such rude, barbarous, rapacious waste and destruction of godly worship, human rights, and good order of civil life, as may well be represented by the actings of brute beasts? The symbol of those four beasts, we know from the interpretation, representeth four kings or kingdoms. The reason why they are represented by beasts, is, that they are not governed by holy or humane principles, but by brutal passions; not by that light of reason and discernment of conscience which resembleth man to God, but by those appetites and instincts of the sense which resemble us to the beasts that perish. Christ, or the Son of Man, with the saints begotten in his image, are in the form of pure and perfect reason; God-like, and God-representing; and under them the earth shall be governed with Divine government, by Divine laws, under Heavenly jurisdiction.

But till then, it is doomed to be under the domination of violent and raging men, who prefer the image of the brute to the image of God; looking downward upon, and associating with, those lower creatures, whom our lower propensities were given us to govern; instead of looking upward to and worshipping God, in whose image we were made, and for his glory constituted heads of the world. Of the reason why God should so appoint it, we shall say a word or two in the close of this discourse; but of the symbol itself we need not speak further.

Observe next, that these four great beasts come up from the sea, whereas the Son of Man cometh with the clouds of heaven. The great sea out of which brutal power issueth, is said to have been agitated by the four winds of the heavens: "The four winds of the heavens strove upon the great sea, and four great beasts came up from the sea:" whereof the interpretation is (verse 17), "These great beasts, which are four, are four kings, which shall arise out of the earth." "Up from the sea" then, in the symbol, is the same with "out of the earth" in the interpretation. A beast coming out of the troubled sea, is, being interpreted, a king rising out of the earth; and we are thus taught, that these four kingdoms which should arise, should none of them be the kingdom of heaven, but kingdoms of the earth: and that the kingdom of heaven, or from the heavens, must be waited for till after the destruction of the little horn, and the coming of the Son of Man in the clouds of heaven. This explains the words which our Lord spake to Pilate; "My kingdom is not from

hence—my kingdom is not of this world;" signifying that it was from heaven, and of the world which was to come. The symbolical method, therefore, of the vision, is to represent the character and actings of the four successive kings by four beasts, which alternately take away each other's dominion: then, to represent the judgment of these four beasts, or rather of the fourth only, with a bare notice of the other three: finally, to represent the giving of all nations into the dominion of the Son of Man. This is the symbolical method: First, the history of the four brutal kingdoms; secondly, the history of their judgment and consumption; thirdly, the history of the investiture and installation of the Son of Man in all the earth.

And now, with respect to the method of interpretation, which occupies the latter half of the chapter: I observe, that it consisteth of two parts; the one explanatory of the vision considered as a whole; the other explanatory of one principal part of the vision. The explanation of the vision as a whole, occupies only two verses, the 17th and 18th, and is to the effect, as hath been already said, of teaching us, that, after the four kings out of the earth had run their course, the saints of the Most High should take the kingdom, and possess it for ever and ever. But the second part of the interpretation is very large, occupying not less than ten verses, and being confined entirely to the explanation of the fourth beast, and of the ten horns that were in his head, and of the other horn which came up, "that had eyes, and a mouth which spake very great things, whose

look was more stout than his fellows;" which proves the doings and the sufferings of the fourth beast to be the principal object of this vision, seeing that three-fourths of the whole are taken up with the representation and interpretation of the same. The interpretation of the fourth beast begins by telling us, that it is a kingdom, and that the others also are kingdoms: from which we gather assuredly, that if they represent kings, they likewise represent kingdoms. It is further interpreted to us, that these ten horns out of this kingdom, are ten kings that should arise; and that the little horn is another king, of a kind diverse from the first; who should subdue three of them, but whose chief warfare should be against the Most High, and the saints of the Most High: an usurper of God's own kingdom and inheritance in his saints; an exerciser of Divine rights and authorities: which he should have room, space, and liberty to do, for a fixed period of time, times, and the dividing of time; and then, the fourth beast and his horns, and the little horn also should perish, to make way for the kingdom of those very saints who had been so long given into his hand. This power atheistic, or rather anti-theistic, or rather anti-christian, is yet somewhere in being, for the saints are not yet in possession of the kingdom; and the fourth beast is therefore likewise in being; and the ten horns, or kings, in his forehead, are therefore also in being--saving those three which the little horn hath plucked up by the roots—that is, seven of them, with the little horn besides, are yet in being: for the saints are not yet come into

possession of "the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom, under the whole heaven." Ours it shall be to identify that little horn, which hath "eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things, even words against the Most High." This will come in the course of interpretation, and shall be, by God's help, fully and patiently made out, because it is the moving cause for which I stand forth thus prominently before the children of the daughter of my people.

To this introductory discourse, necessary to the right understanding of the whole future matter, I have two words to add. Whereof the first respecteth the moral purpose, the Divine end, which God hath in view by ordering it so that the saints shall be so long under domination of a God-blaspheming power, and the earth so long under the down-treading and destroying tramp and tearing violence of such unholy and inhuman bestial governments. This I can but give you a glimpse of, in so early a part of our discourse; yet is it but reasonable that some view of it, however scanty, should be given. Well, then, I conceive the great end of Divine wisdom served by such a purpose as is disclosed in this vision, is to make manifest the wickedness of man, and his incapacity of holding power and trust, constituted as he is at present. That man who is born of a woman is prone, not only "to sorrow as the sparks fly upward," but likewise prone to wickedness beneath the brutes that perish; that this is not the attribute peculiar to miserable poverty and wretched pitiful circumstances, but appertaineth

to kings and magistrates, clothed upon with all the divine dignities of office, and surrounded with all the advantages which this world can afford;—that man in flesh and blood, take him at the best, and take him for all in all, will in this fallen estate decline to the brute, rather than ascend upward unto God; will listen rather to the brutal appetites and instincts of the flesh, than rise into the divine meditation, and obey the divine commandments of the reason: this I take to be the first great lesson of Divine wisdom which God intendeth by such purpose. To defeat the attempts of the devil to stir up in mens' minds the passion of ambition and the lust of power;—to shew the degradations which attend upon high estate and dignified station; that the multitude of men may be taught contentment with their meanness and their poverty, and all be deterred from the snare of the devil, which is the pride of rank, and the ambition of a higher estate than God hath appointed us unto;—but, above all, to shew how vain a thing is the dream of Optimists, that man of himself is tending by slow steps to perfection; how false is the notion of our Radical Reformers, and Liberals of every name, that we are about to come, by education of the people, and liberal institutions, and extension of commerce and civilization, and other means, to a system of peace, plenty, and prosperity:—for the end, I say, of spoiling all these, the vain boasts of the natural man, and directing the minds of all men to the evil principles which ever work the downfall of human institutions, and to bring all into the felowship of the glorious hope of the coming of the Son of Man, into the honour of him as the

great cause of blessedness;—this I take to be the great and principal lesson taught us by this revelation of the Divine purpose.

And the second is consequent upon this: to teach that He who cometh with the clouds of heaven, the Son of Man, who hath been born not of woman only, but likewise begotten from the dead, born from the bowels of the earth; that the risen man, the man of the resurrection, He, and He alone, is capable of holding power and government over the earth; and for Him, and for Him alone, the kingdom of blessedness, the hope of the troubled world, the prayer of all travailing and groaning creation, waiteth until now.—And therefore it followeth, that till his coming the saints must be contented with subjection to the most brutal forms of power, with humiliation under the feet of every beast which shall arise; and can only expect to attain the kingdom, by that way in which he attained the kingdom—namely, by being born from the womb of the earth, and rising in resurrection-glory, and resurrection-purity from the dust of the ground. A king must have royal robes: the royal robe of the millennial kings are their resurrection bodies. As Christ received not a kingdom until he arose from the dead; so shall not any man receive part of his perdurable kingdom otherwise than by the first resurrection from among the dead. To comfort the saints, therefore, under all oppressions, under all deaths, and especially under the oppression of the Pope, or little horn, is this vision given. To prevent them from taking arms against the powers that be; to prevent all fifth-monarchy

ambition; to prevent all Cameronian re-actions against the anti-Christian persecutors of the church; to disarm the very desires of nature; to shut us up to the hope of His coming, who shall share his kingdom with every one that overcometh;—this I conceive to be the second great lesson intended by God under such a purpose.

But the third, and last which I shall mention, is somewhat deeper still. It was the purpose of the Father, that when his eternal Son should come in flesh he should be perfected by sufferings: he should be the Lamb slain, before he became the Lion of the tribe of Judah, before he became God over all blessed for ever. Whereof the mystery is this: that, being to take a creature form, it must be shewn that not the creature part, but the Divine part of him, hath the glory and the strength of his exaltation. It must be shewn that the creature part hath only to do with his humiliation, and his sorrow, and his baseness, and his poverty, and his much-marredness, and his agonies, and his death, and his burial; to the end that every creature's mouth may be stopped from glorying in Christ; yea, that every creature may be brought to be ashamed and humbled, crucified, in Christ;—that creation may learn from him its poverty, its nakedness, its sinfulness, its nothingness; and that God, and God alone, in him, may be for ever glorified. And being so that this was a great—yea, I may say, the great—end and object of the incarnation of the Son, then must every one of the adopted children of God be made to pass through the same probation of low estate: the creature in them must be mortified

also, and they through much tribulation must likewise attain unto the kingdom of heaven. And thus all things are made vain and dishonourable, in order that God alone may be known to be Something, to be Every Thing, to be the Being of all beings. Hence such dejection of the earth, of the powers of the earth, of the saints of the earth, of every thing that holdeth of the earth, before it attaineth unto the blessed, abiding, and eternal glory. In man as a creature, there were these three things engrafted by his Creator's hand, life, power, and goodness. He lost his goodness by coming to know evil; and so goodness was proved to be not an attribute of the creature, but a gift of the Creator. With his goodness he lost life; and so life also was proved to be not an attribute of the creature, but a gift of the Creator. And when He came, who in the midst of evil was only good, as in the midst of death He was only life; he was known to be the Creator by being the Good One, and the Living One. And he also possessed power above the power of throned kings; yet was he in subjection, until God should have demonstrated the instability of power, and its wickedness, and its self-destroying violence: under which protracted probation of the thrones the appointed number of his chosen ones might be brought, through the likeness of Christ's sufferings, unto the inheritance of his kingdom.

And the other word which I have to say, is spoken for the honour of Divine Prophecy against an ignorant and blaspheming generation. There has come up in these futile times a notion

that it bespeaks a man to be either mad or a fool to venture upon the study of the prophetic word: and while they listen to every ephemeral, or rather nocturnal, inditer of vain speculations concerning the issues of all measures at home and all policies abroad, the men of this generation, especially of our cities, will turn away with disdain from a man who shall, as I endeavour to do, search God's holy word to discover therein what is his mind and purpose. What mean you by this, you scornful men? are you become wiser than God? Know ye the future better than God; or hath a newspaper more inspiration of eternal wisdom than the Scriptures of truth? It is not a man that you make game of, when thus you sport your little wits: it is, the Eternal Wisdom of God that ye are foolish enough, or mad enough, to despise. It is not the interpreter, nor yet the interpretation, but the prophecy itself, you superciliously contemn. I abhor and pity the scorner: it is the lowest form of man. And the age of ridicule is the last age that comes before destruction. Christians, beware how ye give countenance to this spirit of ridicule that is gone abroad. It always strikes at prophecy. The past is history, which infidelity dare hardly dispute; but the future is prophecy, and this is what the devil delighteth to scoff with. The Neologians of Protestant Germany have explained away all the miracles into artless mistakes, or artful deceptions; and they have explained away all the prophecies into moral, wise, and sagacious sayings of uninspired men; and they call themselves Christians withal. Christians, beware that the thing which has been done in

Protestant Germany be not done over again in Protestant England. Our fathers had the battle for the miracles to fight, against Hume, Gibbon, and Paine: they fought it stoutly and bravely, whatever may be thought of their skill and wisdom. We have now the battle to fight for prophecy: God grant us grace to fight it with equal bravery, and more skill and wisdom! Those erred by setting too much store by external evidence: we ought to be guarded against the like error; and I, for my part, will endeavour to be so. And oh, my brethren, I entreat you to be guarded against the spirit of ridicule. If the sanctity of the subject which I handle; if the authority of God, from whom the word proceeds; if the righteousness and the wisdom and the dignity of the person by whom it was uttered; if the estimation in which this prediction was held by the Lord, and the frequency with which it was used by him, will not find for me protection against levity and scorn, will not overawe these monkey attributes of man in your breasts; then let the sacredness of the place in which we are assembled, the consecration of my person to the office of a minister of God, the worthiness of that holy name of Christian by which ye are called, bring you into sobriety of spirit and seriousness of mind: or, if these considerations should likewise fail, then I pray you, let a decent regard to the agitations of ten thousand breasts—yea, I may say, of ten million breasts—now trembling between hope and fear; let the awful sight of a nation standing upon the edge of civil war; let the sublime sight of a Protestant nation rousing itself

from its sleep, and rallying its neglected strength once more, speaking again with the voice which heretofore made Europe tremble; let these sublime, these personal, these Divine considerations, banish far away from your minds idle levity, deriding scorn, wanton guile, and cold cruelty, with all the other forms of the natural man; and be ye sober, grave, temperate, and wise, while I endeavour to unfold in order this most honoured of all the revelations of God's holy purpose. And may the Spirit of power and of love and of a sound mind be given unto me, the holder of such high discourse; and to you, the hearers thereof, may there be imparted, the spirit of understanding and of judgment and of wisdom, from our common God and Father: to whom, even to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, shall be ascribed all the honour and the glory of this and every other undertaking. Amen, and Amen.

DISCOURSE II.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR AND THE BABYLONIANS.

DAN. vii. 1—4.

In the first year of Belshazzar king of Babylon, Daniel had a dream, and visions of his head upon his bed: then he wrote the dream, and told the sum of the matters. Daniel spake, and said, I saw in my vision by night, and behold the four winds of the heaven strove upon the great sea. And four great beasts came up from the sea diverse one from another. The first was like a lion, and had eagle's wings: and I beheld till the wings thereof were plucked, and it was lifted up from the earth, and made stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it.

Of every prophecy, time and place are essential parts: not accidental circumstances, but essential parts, the presence of which distinguishes a prophecy from a promise. A promise is that which presents an object of hope undefined by place and time. For example: the promise of evil upon the serpent, "The Seed of the woman shall bruise thy head;" the promise of an inheritance unto Abraham, "I will give to thee, and to thy children after thee, all this land to possess it;" the promise to Christians, to "come with

the Lord," and "to reign with the Lord." All which, and such like, are not properly prophecies, but promises, because they are not limited and confined by conditions of succession and locality; and they form, as it were, the elements out of which prophecies or predictions are framed. For example: when the word spoken in Paradise, concerning the Seed of the woman, was restricted to the seed of Abraham and Sarah, and to the line of Isaac, and to the tribe of Judah, and to the family of David, and, still more, to the miraculous manner of it through a virgin's conception, from being a promise it gradually took upon itself the form of a prophecy and prediction; becoming limited to a particular family; to a particular place, Bethlehem-Ephrata; to a particular time, before the sceptre should depart from Judah; to a particular manner, by the conception of the virgin. In one word, from being a vague object of hope, it became a predetermined event, upon which probation of God's faithfulness was taken, and great issues of man's well-being rested. So, likewise, the promise that Abraham's seed should possess the land of Canaan became a prophecy and prediction, when there was added to it the condition of time, that his seed should be four hundred years servants and bondsmen in the land of Egypt, and after that come up to possess the land. The judgments upon Israel and Judah as they are contained in the Song of Moses, and other passages of the books of Moses, are of the nature of promises and threats; which pass into predictions, when, from Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel,

Daniel, and the other prophets, they receive the conditions of place and time—of place, in respect to the nations by whom they were to be taken captive; of time, in respect to the number of years within which the captivity was to commence, and the number of years during which the captivity was to last. For example: the threatening pronounced against the ten separated tribes of Israel took the form of a prediction and prophecy in the mouth of Isaiah, when he assured king Ahaz that within seventy years Ephraim should be broken from being a people. And so also of Judah, when Jeremiah prophesied that they should go into captivity in Babylon, and remain in captivity seventy years. And so, also, the threatenings of our Lord against Jerusalem became predictions, when he said, that the generation to whom he spake should not pass away till all these things should be fulfilled. And, in general, we may observe, not only of the prophecies bearing upon the Jews, but also of those bearing upon the nations around, it is a constant characteristic that they should be pointedly defined with respect to place and time. Each nation has its own burden directed to itself: the quarter from which the judgment is to come is exactly given—most commonly the nation of their oppressors is named, and the very king by whom it was to be wrought; as, for example, Nebuchadnezzar and Cyrus. And, without further particulars, we may conclude the observation with this remark, That there never was so ignorant, so false, and so infidel a notion, as that which prevails amongst many—by far the greater

number both of ecclesiastical and laical persons in this generation—that prophecy unfulfilled is a secret thing, which belongeth to the Lord; and not a revealed thing, which belongeth to the church; and that it is the height of presumption, not to say impiety, for any one to dare, what I am now about to do, to undertake to give place and time to the predictions of holy Scripture. The only thing which is put beyond the church's knowledge in this respect, is the day of our Lord's coming, of which no man knoweth, and of which none of us pretendeth to know. But of other things foretold in holy Scripture, I lay it down as a first principle, that they are all given under the conditions of time and place. When I say time, I mean succession; that such an event follows such another event. I hold that the succession of future events can be laid down from prophecy, and that we can ascertain the point at which we stand in the evolution of the Divine purpose, and that we ought to do so: and that they who are seeking to know the times and the seasons, who are endeavouring to discern the signs of the times, who are endeavouring to discern this very time in which we live; these calumniated students and expositors of prophecy are the very men who now stand in the room of the Jeremiahs and Daniels of former time; beloved and preserved of God, true watchmen of the church, and faithful counsellors of the nation. Of this observation, that all prophecies are cast into the forms of space and time, you will see a most splendid instance, in that which is now before us, to the exact interpretation of which we now proceed in order.

In our former discourse we shewed that the scope of this vision was to set forth, in general, the four kings, or kingdoms, which should prevent the kingdom of the saints, that is to be established upon the face of the earth for ever; and in particular, to describe the rise, wickedness, and destruction of the little horn, which overawed the ten horns of the fourth beast—or, in other words, the prophetical usurper of Divine honour who spake unto, and was obeyed by, the ten kingdoms of the fourth empire;—and we do now proceed, by the blessing of God, to interpret the first of those three kingdoms, the account of which would seem to be but introductory to that of the fourth, and given in order to make us sure of the identity of this, by shewing us its place in the succession of kingdoms, down from the time of Daniel until the time that the saints of the Most High shall possess the kingdom. The great act of the vision, is the controversy between the little horn and the saints, which is the only part of it therefore that is defined by the condition of time; but, to the end of removing all doubt concerning the identity of this little horn, which usurpeth Divine honour to itself and oppresseth the saints, its place is fixed by a succession of distinctly defined empires, beginning, as we shall see, from that under which Daniel, with the rest of the Jews was then in captivity. For Daniel had this dream, and these visions, in the first year of Belshazzar, king of Babylon. This Belshazzar was not the son, but the son's son, of that Nebuchadnezzar who led the tribes of Judah and Benjamin captive into Babylon; with whom as the captivity began, so with this Belshazzar, who

was overcome by Cyrus, did the captivity end, after seventy years' endurance, according as it was prophesied by the mouth of Jeremiah: (xxvii. 7), "And all nations shall serve Nebuchadnezzar, and his son, and his son's son:" and again (xxv. 2), "And this whole land shall be a desolation, and an astonishment; and these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years." In the first year, then, of Belshazzar, the last of the Babylonian kings, Daniel had "a dream, and visions of his head upon his bed; then he wrote the dream, and told the sum of the matter." In the unity of it, it is called one dream; in the partition of it, it is called visions of his head. Now, upon examining it, to find what are its parts, what are the separate individuals which are in the plural called visions, I find the first to begin at the 2d verse, which openeth with these words, "I saw in my vision by night;" and to end at the 7th verse, which begins with the like words, "After this, I saw in the night visions:" and this second vision continueth to the 13th verse, which is introduced in the same style, "I saw in the night visions." So that we have the whole dream divided into three visions: the first, from verse 2 to verse 7, containing the first three beasts; the second, from verse 7 to verse 13, containing the particulars of the fourth beast, his ten horns and his little horn, and all his evil deeds, together with his judgment by the Ancient of Days, and his utter destruction; the third, from verse 13 to verse 15, containing the coming of the Son of Man, and his installation in the kingdom for ever and ever. In one dream, of one night, I

understand the curtain to have been twice lifted up before the eye of the seer. First: by the Divine Architect of our thoughts, whether waking or sleeping, there is presented to the prophet's eye the succession of the lion, the bear, and the leopard; which, having exhibited their symbolical forms and done their symbolical acts, bring his first vision to a close; and straightway the scene shifteth, and another beast appeareth, of monstrous form and monstrous acts; which is seen trampling the residue under his feet, itself to be trampled down by no fifth beast, but reserved for the judgment of the Ancient of Days, who, being come in his glory, casts his body to the burning flame. Then the scene shifteth once more, and presenteth the Son of Man coming to the Ancient of Days, and receiving the everlasting kingdom of the earth under the whole heaven. Such is the division of the dream into three parts, accounting for the fact of its being called visions. Then it is said, he wrote the dream. Knowing well that it was a vision of God, and for the instruction of the church in all ages, he wrote it down, that it might preserve its form inviolate, and not be deformed by tradition. But while he did so, he also told the sum of the matter—literally, the head of the words,—told it to his brethren of the captivity, that they might know what God purposed by his church; how much they were to endure; when, and by whom, they were to be delivered.

After this preface, the narrative of the vision thus proceeds: — "Daniel spake," and said, "I saw in my vision by night, and, behold,

the four winds of the heavens strove upon the great sea: and four great beasts came up from the sea, diverse one from another." And the interpretation of this symbolical language is given at verse 17: "These great beasts which are four, are four kings, which shall arise out of the earth." This teacheth us, that the great sea is a symbol of the earth; and though it may seem a strange-enough thing to make one element, of water, the symbol of another element, of earth; yet if you reflect, that it is not the stability of the earth, but its instability, which the symbol seemeth to express, your surprise will pass away into satisfaction with the appropriateness of the imagery. If you wished to express the state of any country agitated by commotions, convulsions, and revolutions—such, for example, as France during the time of the French Revolution—what way so natural for representing it, as the sea tossed and driven, lifted up and cast down, by the contending raging winds of heaven? Not the earth, therefore, in a firm and quiet state, but the earth suffering rapid changes and revolutions, may be conveniently and aptly expressed by such a symbol; and this is the case in the passage before us. The sea, upon which the four winds of heaven strive together, is given unto us as the symbol of that portion of the earth out of which these four great empires arose, and on which they strove together for the mastery; and upon which, as we shall see in the sequel, they are yet existing, and yet striving with one another. I say, a portion of the earth; because, though in Scripture

these kingdoms have a universal dominion given unto them by God, and did actually attain to the sovereignty over the chief portion of the world with the history of which the word of God is conversant, and in the midst of which the church of God hath found its habitation in all ages; yet, now that modern discovery hath made us acquainted with the extremities of the world, it seemeth to us an exaggerated way of speaking to say that the whole earth was under, either the Babylonian, or the Persian, or the Greek, or the Roman kingdoms; but it is the way of the holy Scriptures so to speak. For example, of king Nebuchadnezzar it is said, in the largest possible language, "It shall come to pass, that the nation and kingdom that will not serve king Nebuchadnezzar.....that nation will I punish, saith the Lord, with the sword, and with the famine, and with the pestilence, until I have consumed them by his hand." The same largeness of language is used of Cyrus by name, Isaiah xlv. 1. And in the next vision of Daniel, which is the controversy between the ram with two horns, which are the kings of Medea and Persia, and the rough goat, which is the king of Grecia, it is said, verse 5, of Alexander, the same king of Grecia, "As I was considering, behold a he-goat came from the west on the face of the whole earth." Moreover, it is said of the Roman kingdom, Luke ii. 1, "And it came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus that all the world should be taxed." And we need not add to these instances, how in the Apocalypse the same universal language is used continually,

when speaking of the Roman kingdom only. When you perceive, therefore, brethren, that this is the way in which Scripture speaketh—taking the larger, better, more distinguished part of the earth, for the whole—do not fly out against us, interpreters of prophecy, as if we were wresting the word, when we are only speaking the language of the Scriptures, in denominating the large field upon which these four kingdoms arose—extending from Britain in the west to beyond the Indies in the east, from Germany in the north to the deserts of Africa and the shores of the Arabian sea in the south—denominating, I say, this fairest portion of the world by the name of the earth. For, according to the general observation with which we set out, every prediction is tied down unto accomplishment by the conditions of place and time. Now this largest vision, of which the largest scope is to set out the successive oppressions of the church upon the earth, must necessarily have a place commensurate with the dispersion of Judah and Benjamin; commensurate also with the dispersion of the elect church of Christ; "sons of Japheth, who dwell in the tents of Shem." Now, though it be true, that straggling individuals and families and colonies, both of the Jewish synagogue of Judah and Benjamin, now in outer darkness, and of the elect church of Christ, now in light, be found in regions of the earth beyond this prophetic bound—as, for example, in India, and America, and the islands of the sea—yet sure and certain it is, that the great body, both of the Jewish dispersion and of the Christian election, have been, ever since the time of Daniel, and still

are, found suffering the oppression of brutal power within the region of the earth where the four successive kingdoms of Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome, arose. Moreover, it is carefully to be observed, that although the conditions of place and time be given to every prophecy, for the verification of the same, these limitations have nothing to do with the lesson taught in the prophecy, which is of equal application to all kingdoms and states whatsoever. The lessons, for example, taught in the prophecies concerning Tyre, are applicable to all cities, and concerning Egypt, to all kingdoms whatsoever; though, from the fulfilment which they received in Tyre and Egypt, they derive that local truth which stamps them to be lessons of God for the use of all cities and nations. The local and the historical, therefore, are God's stamp, the rubric of his invention, to fix the lesson on high, and post it up for ever in the sight of all nations, which he should establish, for the practice of righteousness and the discouragement of wickedness. The states of America, for example, and the church in America; the British government in India, and the church there; though they be not included in the prophecy, as being only growths of yesterday, are as graciously and fully instructed by the word of prophecy, as are those portions of the earth to which the prophetic burdens are by very name addressed.

Now, though in this remark we have been led to anticipate the name and identities of these four beasts, we by no means intend to take this important point for granted, but do now proceed

to identify them; first, by some general considerations; and then, by particular and minute examination of each. Well, then, bearing in your mind that Daniel had the vision under the kingdom established by Nebuchadnezzar, who is called a "king of kings," and to whom God had given, not only all nations, but the very "beasts of the earth"—to liken him, as I take it, unto Adam, first of universal monarchs; and unto Christ, the last and only abiding one of universal monarchs; —bearing in mind, I say, that Daniel had the vision under the first universal monarchy of God's establishing, and that there are just three more such before the universal monarchy of the saints;—the first, the Babylonian; the fifth, the heavenly or divine regiment of the earth—let any one be required to put in three between these, and he would at once say, there have been only the Persian, which followed the Babylonian; and the Greek, which followed the Persian; and the Roman, which followed the Greek: these, he would say, are the only four kingdoms which have any claim to be called universal. Accordingly, there is not a history which doth not so digest its matter, as to bring it under these four heads of the Babylonian, the Persian, the Greek, and the Roman. Thus far, I say, the natural sagacity of any man, acquainted with the history of what has occurred since that time, would guide him. After the Gothic nations, indeed, broke up the Roman kingdoms, he might find it difficult to recognise the identity of the fourth kingdom as still in being; although, even here, historians are agreed to treat the emperors as one series, from

Julius Cæsar down to the present emperor of Austria. But this point I do not refer to the common sagacity of my hearers, seeing it is a point which God hath been at great pains to make good in this vision, and which will clearly appear in the future opening thereof: but this much I can ask, from the natural sagacity of those who hear me, whether or no, commencing from Daniel's time, the four universal kingdoms which have arisen be not the Babylonian, the Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman.

But we take this, not merely upon the common consent of historians, and because there is no other reasonable account of the matter, but also upon the authority of the interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, as the same is set forth in the second chapter of Daniel. The dream was of a great image, with "a head of gold, with breast and arms of silver, with belly and thighs of brass, with legs of iron, and feet part of iron and part of clay," which stood, until a certain "stone cut out without hands" began to smite it upon its feet, and continued to smite, until it became like the small dust that was carried away of the wind; whereupon "the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, that filled the whole earth." Now, the interpretation is as follows: "Thou, O king, art a king of kings: for the God of heaven hath given thee a kingdom, and power, and strength, and glory; and wheresoever the children of men dwell, the beasts of the field, and the fowls of the heaven, hath he given into thine hand, and hath made thee ruler over them all. Thou art this head of gold. And after thee shall arise another

kingdom inferior to thee, and another third kingdom of brass, which shall bear rule over all the earth. And the fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron.....and all these shall it break in pieces and bruise.....And in the days of these kings, shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed." Here, therefore, we have the same four kingdoms, followed by the same fifth; and of these four, Nebuchadnezzar is set forth as the representative of the first. With the same universality with which these are set forth in Nebuchadnezzar's, are those in Daniel's vision likewise set forth; for of the fourth it is said, that "it shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces." It is impossible, therefore, but that these two series of four kings upon the earth, ending in the fifth kingdom of God, being universal, must be the same series: and if so, then, from Daniel's interpretation we know that Nebuchadnezzar, and the Babylonian kingdom which he represents, is the first of the series. Some ingenious interpreters indeed, instead of using the one vision to help in the interpretation of the other, as we now do, have taken upon them to infer that the two visions must necessarily refer to different things. For what, say they, would be the use of relating the same thing over a second time? and why also, they ask, should Daniel be so grieved in his spirit in the midst of his body, if it was but the re-vision of what had already been revealed to him? And therefore they are set upon some other scent, to discover what new thing, what thing different from the

former, these four beasts may signify; but all such research is ingenious rather, than judicious. That the frame-work of the two visions should be the same, is no more wonderful, than that the issue and end of them should be the same; or that the frame-work of the visions of Daniel should be the same as the frame-work of the visions of St. John; or, in truth, that the great lineaments of all visions should be the same. For example, the next vision of Daniel concerneth Persia and Grecia, and so likewise doth the last vision, in both which they are mentioned by name. It is clear, therefore, that there is a oneness of system in prophecy, as in all truth whatever; and that the second chapter of Daniel, or Nebuchadnezzar's vision, doth, in truth, give the outline or kalendar of the prophetic system; while in the other visions of Daniel, and in the visions of St. John, parts of this great outline are presented to us in a magnified form; certain great events in the purpose of God are separately revealed, yet in such wise as to be properly indented and fixed in the great one system of truth. Now, as we remarked when treating of the scope of this prophecy, it is particularly to unfold the oppressions of the saints under that little horn which ariseth in the head of the fourth and last beast: not to repeat what had been already given, but to take out of the map a portion, and present it on a larger scale, yet in such wise as that it should have its place in the one system clearly identified. Besides this, the former vision was merely the declaration of the succession of universal kingdoms which

should arise before the kingdom of heaven; in which, though some remarkable circumstances were given—as of the clay and iron mingled together in the feet and toes—yet was not the peculiar characteristics of each, not the common brutality of them all, nor yet their oppression of the saints, laid down as in the vision before us: and this being the great object of the present vision, which is not mentioned at all in the former, will sufficiently account, both for the new representation of the same kingdoms under the form of beasts, and likewise for the pain and trouble of spirit into which Daniel was cast by what he saw.

Having thus shewn the good and sufficient grounds of the interpretation which is commonly made of this vision, we do now proceed to shew the perfect accordance of all that is mentioned of these four beasts, with all that hath happened under the Babylonian, the Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman kingdoms. Of the Babylonian, it is said, verse 4, "the first was like a lion, and had eagles' wings. I beheld till the wings thereof were plucked, and it was lifted up from the earth, and made stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given it." This is parallel with the head of gold in the great image which Nebuchadnezzar saw; of which Daniel said unto him, "Thou, O king, art this head of gold." Now, as the head is the noblest part of the body, so is the lion the noblest among the beasts: the lion is the emblem which Messiah hath taken to himself: "the Lion of the tribe of Judah." I conclude, therefore, that there is a certain nobility given, in both visions, to Nebu-

chadnezzar and the Babylonian kingdom, above those which followed after him: wherefore God called him his "servant," and installeth him king over all nations. There must, indeed, have been noble faculties about the man who could not only subdue unto himself such mighty states and empires, but consolidate them by good government and wholesome laws into one great kingdom, which stood not only through his successors of the Babylonian, but likewise of the Persian dynasty: for Cyrus had not, like Nebuchadnezzar, an empire to found and construct out of ruins, but came into possession of one already constructed to his hand. We may say, therefore, that this empire, which Nebuchadnezzar, the lion among kings, did found, remained in its integrity until the time of the Greek; and those qualities of Nebuchadnezzar I take to be the reason why in the image he hath the symbol of the head of gold; why also the second kingdom, of the Medes and Persians, is said to be inferior to him; and why in this vision he is likened to the lion, the noblest of the brute creation. Moreover, if you peruse the history of Nebuchadnezzar's acts, as they are set forth by the prophet Jeremiah, you shall find in them none of that cruelty nor folly which marks the march of conquerors in general. How different from the invasion of Sennacherib, who came up against Hezekiah, a good king, who feared the Lord! But Nebuchadnezzar came up against Jehoiakim, who feared him not, but filled Jerusalem with innocent blood, as his father had done. Yet did not Nebuchadnezzar make a full end of de-

stroying Jerusalem; but, having taken away its fencible men and weapons of war, he set the king's uncle upon the throne in his stead; who kept not faith with the king of Babylon, but joined himself with the Egyptians, his enemies, and so was overthrown because he had broken his covenant. So also against Tyre received he a commission from the Lord; which he executed, after thirteen years' laborious service; upon which the Lord spake thus, by the mouth of Ezekiel: "Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon caused his army to serve a great service against Tyre: therefore I have given him the land of Egypt for his labour; because they wrought for me, saith the Lord." And with the like respect speaketh the Lord of Nebuchadnezzar in other parts of Scripture. And can any thing be more excellent commendation, than that the Lord should reveal to him by a vision the knowledge of all the kingdoms which should follow upon the earth, until the kingdom of the God of heaven? If Cyrus be a type of Christ, in that he broke the two-leaved gates of Babylon and set the captives free; then also likewise do I reckon Nebuchadnezzar to have been a type of Christ, as the "King of kings," the first, and the only one, whom I find so named in holy Scripture. And therefore perhaps it also is that Nebuchadnezzar hath the similitude of a lion, which is every where appropriated to Christ, in the day that he falleth upon the apostate and idolatrous kings of Europe; when "he lifteth up his voice as when a lion roars," and "cometh up as a lion from the swellings of Jordan to the habitations of the strong." If David be the type of Christ, as the king of Israel;

then take I Nebuchadnezzar, king of kings, to be the type of Christ subduing the nations of the earth under his sceptre, and breaking in pieces like a potsherd all those that stand up against him. To some, who have not reflected on the subject, this may seem extravagant; but by what other supposition shall we explain such language as this, which the prophet Jeremiah was commanded to hold unto all the nations round about? "Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel: I have made the earth, the man and the beast that are upon the ground, by my great power, by my outstretched arm, and have given it unto whom it seemed good to me. And now have I given all these lands into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon, my servant; and the beasts of the field have I given him also to serve him: and all nations shall serve him, and his son, and his son's son, until the very time of his land come; and then many nations and great kings shall serve themselves of him. And it shall come to pass, that the nation and kingdom that shall not serve the same Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon, and that will not put their necks under the yoke of the king of Babylon, that nation will I punish, saith the Lord, with the sword, and with the famine, and with the pestilence, until I have consumed them by his hand." And again, Daniel v. 18, "The most high God gave Nebuchadnezzar thy father a kingdom, and majesty, and glory, and honour, and for the majesty that he gave him, all people, nations, and languages, trembled and feared before him: whom he would he slew, and whom he would he kept alive, and whom he would he set up,

and whom he would he put down." Such language teacheth us, beyond question, that God had a purpose in raising up in this manner Nebuchadnezzar, beyond that of bringing by him the Jewish people into judgment; seeing that by this man he judged not only Judah, but Moab, and Pharaoh, and Edom, and the children of Ammon, and all the mingled people, and the kings of Tyrus, and all the kings of Zidon, and a great multitude beside, whom it were tedious to mention. And because I find that the universal judgment of the nations by Christ, when he cometh as King of kings, is set forth in immediate dependence upon that judgment which Nebuchadnezzar executed upon the nations and kingdoms within the field of prophecy, I do judge that the purpose of God set forth by Nebuchadnezzar, is Christ's coming, as the Prince of the kings of the earth, to judge backslidden and apostate nations, to execute judgment upon idolatrous and apostate nations, and to rule over the world which he hath subdued.

To the form of the lion, prince of the beasts of the forests, is added the wings of the eagle, the lord of the fowls of heaven. The eagle soareth with majesty, far above the region of the clouds; and can look from the mid heaven, with an eye undazzled at the glory of the sun. They are not the wings of a fowl, for expeditious and rapid movement, (which in the third beast are added to the fleet body of the leopard), but they are the wings of an eagle, with which God representeth himself as bearing his people out of Egypt, and with which the church escapeth into the wilderness from the face of the dragon. It strikes me, therefore, that

this symbol doth add to the monarchy of earth an ambitious uplifting of his heart to the Divinity of the skies. Methinks it is terrestrial and celestial sovereignty striving to unite themselves in one person, before the time at which they shall be united in the person of Christ. I think I see in this symbol that tendency of autocratical power to usurp upon God's domain shadowed forth, which also was accomplished in the history of Nebuchadnezzar, as well as in the history of Darius, and in the history of Alexander, and in the history of divers of the Roman Emperors, and in other exalted personages nearer to our own times, as we shall see in the sequel of these discourses. This same Nebuchadnezzar, so mighty, so valiant, so noble, is compared to a lion, in the fourth of Jeremiah, ver. 7: "The lion is come up from his thicket, and the destroyer of the Gentiles is on his way: he is gone forth from his place, to make thy land desolate: and thy cities shall be laid waste without an inhabitant." And in the same place it is said, "Behold, he shall come up as clouds, and his chariot shall be as a whirlwind, his horses as swift as an eagle. Woe to us, for we are spoiled!" So also he is likened to "a great eagle with great wings, long-winged, full of feathers, which have divers colours." (Ezek. xvii. 3.) But by the combination of the two in one symbol, which antiquarians find to have been practised in the picture-writing of the East, I think, as hath been said, that a soaring sublimity of spirit into the heavens is added to the mighty power on earth yielded to Nebuchadnezzar. And in this I am confirmed by the words which follow:

"I beheld till the wings thereof were plucked, and it was lifted up (or, in the margin, "wherewith it was lifted up") from the earth, and made stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it." If I was right in considering this as a description not so much of the Babylonian kingdom, to which it hath been commonly applied by interpreters, as to Nebuchadnezzar, the founder and builder-up of the same, then this admitteth of a beautiful, consistent, and most instructive interpretation. Taking the marginal reading, the wings wherewith it was lifted up from the earth are plucked: and this being done, it is made to stand upright like a man; the heart of the beast is taken away, and a man's heart is given to it. This change, from the brutal to the rational condition, is traced altogether to the plucking of its wings; which wings we did interpret as indicating the ambition of celestial above and beyond terrestrial government,—aspirations after Divine honours, in addition to unbounded terrestrial dominion. The plucking of its wings, therefore, must be the taking away of those blasphemous, diabolical aspirations after Divine honour, with which this lion-hearted lord of human kind was tempted by the prince of the power of the air; which extravagant super-human ambition being removed, this king of kings, from being the highest and the noblest of the beasts of the brutal kingdom, ascendeth into the dignity of a man, of a reasonable man whose distinction above the brutes consisteth in this, that he hath a heart full of humane affections, and a reason capable of apprehending and worshipping God. Now, then, is there in

the life of Nebuchadnezzar any revolution corresponding to this, which is symbolized after so wonderful a manner?—But, before proceeding to this we have a remark to make upon the expression "whereby he was lifted up from the earth," which, being compared with the rest of this vision, will help us much in the resolution of this enigmatic language, which hath puzzled commentators so much.

The earth is yielded to these four beasts, which are four kings, that shall arise out of the earth; but the heaven is the accompaniment of the Son of Man, who taketh the fifth kingdom: the Son of Man "came with the clouds of heaven." These are called the kingdoms of the earth, in contradistinction to this, which is called the kingdom of heaven; and therefore, when it is said "the wings thereof were plucked wherewith it was lifted up from the earth," it seems to me from the construction of the vision, necessarily implied, that he was leaving his proper sphere, and usurping upon that which belongeth to the Son of Man. "The earth God had given to the sons of men, but the heaven hath he reserved to himself." Adam's dominion passed not beyond the earth, whereof he was constituted universal monarch; but this person, represented by the lion, was "lifted above the earth,"—that is, was inclined to take to himself that Divine honour and worship which awaiteth the Son of Man, when he shall be brought the second time into the world, and all the angels of God shall worship him. This idea is confirmed by the words which follow; "And made stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart was

given it."—This plucking of his wings, this preventing of him from soaring into the heavens, which belong to God, is attended with a great alteration in his very nature: the brutal changing into the human; the prostrate beast changing into the heavenward dignity of man. And how otherwise this could be done but by restoring to him the knowledge and fear and worship of God, I know not. But this is put beyond conjecture by a passage in the fourth chapter of Daniel, where it is said, of this same Nebuchadnezzar, "Let his heart be changed from man's, and let a beast's heart be given unto him, until seven times pass over him."

But, before opening this, it may be well to call to your remembrance another of the acts of Nebuchadnezzar, which took place ten years before that revolution in his character which is recorded in the passage above quoted, which is, his setting up an idol of colossal size upon the plain of Dura, and commanding all people and nations and languages to worship before it: against which Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego protesting in the name of their God, the God of Israel, they were taken and cast into the midst of a burning fiery furnace, with this bravado of the king, "And who is that God, that shall deliver you out of my hand? Into which being cast, the king after a while, answered and said, Lo, I see four men loose, walking in the midst of the fire, and they have no hurt; and the form of the fourth is like the Son of God." And forthwith he called unto them, "Ye servants of the most high God, come forth." Whereupon the king made a decree, that "nothing should be

spoken amiss against the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, because there is no God that can deliver after this sort." This miraculous incident adds great confirmation to the idea given above, that Nebuchadnezzar was a man in whom God was perfecting a sign unto all kings who should come after him. He had already revealed to him the history of kingdoms, until the kingdom of Christ should come. Under which is couched, as I take it, this great lesson unto kings: That God mightily honoureth their estate, and will fill their hearts with great revelations, if they will but listen to the interpreting voice of his prophets. ——And now, when his great delegate is fallen into hideous idolatry, and would, instead of listening to the servants of God, destroy them all; God, instead of executing summary judgment upon him, doth, in the persons of those whom the king would destroy, give a most notable warning, a most instructive lesson; purging the eye of the king to behold and know the likeness of the Son of God, and teaching his lips to speak the praises of the most high God. Whereby is taught this other lesson, that God is long-suffering with his anointed, and will not speedily execute that judgment which afflicteth not one, but all the people: for God seeth in a king all the millions of his subject people, and dealeth with the king as with one in whose sufferings millions must suffer, in whose judgment millions must be judged.

But the highest instance of God's goodness unto his king, and that referred to in our text by the plucking of his wings, is that most extraordinary of God's providences unto the kings of the earth which

is narrated in the fourth chapter of Daniel, and which was on this wise:—Nebuchadnezzar, being at rest in his house from all his enemies, and flourishing in his palace, had visions of his head upon his bed; wherein he saw a tree in the midst of the earth, of a great height, even to heaven; of a strong growth, spreading even to the ends of the earth; of fair leaves, of much fruit, affording meat to all. The beasts of the field had shadow under it, and the fowls of the heavens dwelt in the boughs thereof, and all flesh was fed of it. "This tree," said Daniel the interpreter, "is thou, O king; for thy greatness is grown, and reacheth unto heaven, and thy dominion to the ends of the earth. So that this vision was nothing else than God's revealing to Nebuchadnezzar the things which concerned himself and his kingdom. Then there came a change over the spirit of his dream. A watcher and an holy one from heaven cried aloud to hew down the tree and cut off his branches, shake off his leaves and scatter his fruits; let the beasts get away from under it: nevertheless, leave the stump of his roots in the earth, even with a band of iron and brass, in the tender grass of the field; and let it be wet with the dew of heaven, and let his portion be with the beasts in the grass of the earth. And now observe the words which follow: "Let his heart be changed from man's, and let a beast's heart be given unto him; and let seven times pass over him. Of which change, set forth both by the cutting down of the stateliest tree to the level of the lowliest grass, and by the changing of a man's heart to a beast's heart, the interpretation given by Belteshazzar is this: "They shall drive thee

from men, and thy dwelling shall be with the beasts of the field; and they shall make thee to eat grass as oxen, and they shall wet thee with the dew of heaven; and seven times shall pass over thee; till thou know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will. And whereas they commanded to leave the stump of the tree roots, thy kingdom shall be sure unto thee, after thou shalt know that the Heavens do rule." And it is added in the vision itself, "This matter is by the decree of the watchers, and the demand by the word of the holy ones, to the intent that the living may know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men."

Now, it is not for the purpose of entering minutely into this vision, that we have introduced it into our discourse; but for the purpose of explaining by it the wonderful change that passed upon the first king of the four whom God raiseth out of the earth; and which is expressed by plucking the eagle-wings of the lion, with which he had attempted the heavens, erecting him on his feet, and giving him a man's heart. The man's heart, we learn from this vision, is the condition of a king standing erect between heaven and earth, and spreading out his sheltering wings over all the men in his dominions, giving shelter even unto the beasts of the field, and protection unto the fowls of the air. Such a stately, fair, and far-spreading tree, is a universal king, when the man's heart is in him. But when the beast's heart is in him

he is like that same tree felled to the earth, rotting in its rich and beautiful foliage, filling the air with noxious exhalations, and fattening the earth with its corruption and rottenness; decomposing itself, and decomposing all that nourishment upon which men and beasts and fowls should have been fed. Nebuchadnezzar driven forth to herd with the cattle, to eat grass like oxen, his body wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown like eagles' feathers and his nails like birds' claws; Nebuchadnezzar void of understanding; Nebuchadnezzar stripped of glory; Nebuchadnezzar driven forth from the society of men; is the emblem unto all kings of what a king becomes when he casteth off the fear and worship of God. For, be it observed, and that most diligently, what it was which reduced Nebuchadnezzar to this pitiful condition. The solemn incident, so instructive to all kings and to all men, but especially to all power-exercising men, is recorded in these words:—"At the end of twelve months, Nebuchadnezzar walked in the palace of the kingdom of Babylon. The king spake, and said, Is not this great Babylon that I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, for the honour of my majesty? While the word was in the king's mouth, there fell a voice from heaven, saying, O king Nebuchadnezzar, to thee it is spoken; The kingdom is departed from thee; and they shall drive thee from men, and thy dwelling shall be with the beasts of the field: they shall make thee to eat grass as oxen, and seven times shall pass over thee; until thou know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and

giveth it to whomsoever he will." Here, then, is the overt act which brought down this signal judgment upon the king of Babylon. He had, indeed, conceived a mighty thought, and executed a wonderful work, when he had perfected a city with walls upon which chariots might ride abreast, with its three hundred gates of brass, enclosing a sufficiency of ground for the sustenance of all the people; with the great river Euphrates flowing through the heart; with its temple of Belus; with the monarch's most magnificent palace, with its hanging-gardens and its other stupendous works; which rendered it the wonder of the world. Over this as his eye wandered with delight, his soul exalted itself, and expressed its idolatry of itself: "Is not this great Babylon that I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power and for the honour of my majesty?" Like Herod, he gave not God the glory: like the wilful king, he worshipped not even the gods of his fathers. Self-idolatry, that wickedest act of human minds, wrought in his spirit. He believed himself the sovereign of the earth. He looked upon Babylon as the habitation of his glory, and he saw in it the work of his hands, the reflection of his person and majesty. Self-sufficiency self-adulation, self-idolatry, is a higher degree of wickedness, and a more fearful offence against the God of gods, than is the worship of idols, which, however degrading it be, doth yet carry a man out of himself, to acknowledge a power above himself. But this awful scene of infidelity, this condition of soul, described in these words of Daniel's last vision, "neither shall he regard

the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women, nor shall he regard any god; for he shall magnify himself above all:" this state of soul, likest unto the devil's, is that which casts kings and kingdoms down from their pre-eminence and blessedness, unto the level of the grass of the field and of the beasts which couch therein.

This, therefore, is the sum of the matter. To the end that kings might know, when they should be tempted of the devil thus to fall into that sin of self-adulation and self-adoration, whereto their estate is liable, a notable instance was given unto them, in the person of this the first of their line, how there was room for repentance with God; how God, being alive to their temptations, is gracious to their falls, and did bring upon them judgments only that he might reclaim them. This lesson taught he to them in the person of Nebuchadnezzar, by plucking the wings of his heaven-usurping ambition; by taking his beast's heart from him, and giving him the heart of a man. For, after that most sorrowful and humiliating passage of his life, we are informed that he carried himself like a good servant of the Most High, being no longer found in the similitude of a beast, but in the similitude of a man; and so representing the person of that Son of Man by whom kings reign and princes decree justice. For it is written in the same vision of the watchers and the holy ones: "At the end of the days, I Nebuchadnezzar lift up mine eyes unto heaven, and mine understanding returned unto me; and I blessed the Most High; and I praised and honoured Him that liveth for

ever, whose dominion is an everlasting dominion, and his kingdom is from generation to generation: and all the inhabitants of the earth are reputed as nothing: and he doeth according to his will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth; and none can stay his hand, or say unto him, What doest thou? At the same time my reason returned unto me; and, for the glory of my kingdom, mine honour and brightness returned unto me; and my counsellors and my lords sought unto me; and I was established in my kingdom; and excellent majesty was added unto me. Now I Nebuchadnezzar praise and extol and honour the King of heaven, all whose works are truth, and his ways judgment: and those that walk in pride he is able to abase." And he thus becometh the great preacher of righteousness unto all his people, setting forth the whole story of his visitation with this preface: "Nebuchadnezzar the king, unto all people, nations, and languages, that dwell in all the earth; Peace be multiplied unto you. I thought it good to shew the signs and wonders that the high God hath wrought toward me. How great are his signs! and how mighty are his wonders! his kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and his dominion is from generation to generation." Thus in his person was the great lesson taught, unto all kings of Babylon, of Persia, of Greece, of Rome in its ten kingdoms—whereof Britain is one—yea, to all kings upon the earth was the lesson taught, that God is gracious unto kings, even though they go far to offend him; that he will visit them very sore before he will cut them off

utterly and that his visitations are all sent for the purpose of teaching them that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will. We believe, therefore, that this history, this wonderful history of Nebuchadnezzar's dignity, fall, and restoration again, is set forth in the words of our text: "The first was like a lion, and had eagles' wings. I beheld till the wings thereof were plucked, and it was lifted up from the earth, and made stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it."

We do now, in the conclusion of this our second discourse, endeavour to derive from it some lessons which may be profitable to the present estate of this our own beloved kingdom and nation. And, first, we deduce this great and important conclusion, that royal power amongst the Gentiles, as amongst the Jews kingly government, all abused as it hath been, and all liable to abuse as it is, is not a wicked invention of man, nor an usurpation of one man's ambition upon the rights and privileges of other men; but an ordinance of God, appointed like every other ordinance, and preserved and continued until now, for the purpose of shewing forth some portion of that eternal purpose which he hath purposed in himself to effect upon the earth. And this is not only true of a king ruling over a single kingdom, but it is true also of a king of kings ruling over many kings and kingdoms. And, without shutting our eyes to the cruel wars, blasphemous words, and idolatrous actions, to which the ambition of universal and autocratic dominion hath given rise, we can assuredly declare, upon the authority of the word

and doctrine this night brought before us, that not without the predestination and wise arrangement of God hath it come to pass that four universal monarchies have succeeded one another upon the earth; whereof the last is now overruled and kept together by the spirit of the Papacy. And if you ask why God hath thus predestinated, and where is the wisdom of such an ordinance? I answer, It is to shew forth the greatest of God's purposes, which is, that his own Son shall yet be revealed King of kings and Lord of lords, governing the whole earth from pole to pole, as Nebuchadnezzar governed the people and nations and languages committed unto him. If there had been nothing but republics upon the earth, such an idea would have seemed to men fraught with nothing but tyranny and oppression; nay, I question if it would have been intelligible. Again, if there had been only petty kings, such as existed in the times of Abraham and of the Trojan war, or such as existed in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, or even such kings of single kingdoms as now exist, it would have been impossible to have conceived of such an universal monarchy as God is about to establish under his Son in the age of this world about to come. But, now that God hath realized the thing in the world's experience for more than two thousand years, yea, and hath connected it with the progress of knowledge, of arts of civilization, of wealth, of power, and of blessedness, there remaineth neither difficulty to conceive the thing, nor yet abhorrence to the

existence of the thing, in the minds of well-informed men.

Moreover, it is as a priest that Christ is to govern the world; that is to say, the power which he hath as a King he is evermore as a Priest to offer unto God. To give this idea a distinct form, the church is constituted with power in herself to execute all discipline, without any interference of the state; thus offering up her power continually upon the altar of her priesthood. But, withal, she is put under the power of the king in all temporal things —an unnatural state, appointed for the high purposes set forth above. Now as the Divine vicegerency of kings is ever trampling upon the rights of God, or of Christ, God's King; so the church, with her power and holiness within herself, is ever trespassing upon the authority of the king: and this of God hath likewise been permitted, in order that the Melchizedec office of Christ in the age to come might become intelligible. This would have been an inconceivable thing, had God not permitted in his providence that most monstrous usurpation of the Papacy; wherein a priest, and a priestly city, did sit and rule the world, without arms, by word only, and by messengers of his word. Seeing this, having felt it—every king of Europe, the emperor himself and our own kings, having often been constrained to bow under him—we have no difficulty in understanding how, if the devil could do so much, God will do much more, when he shall plant his King upon his holy hill of Zion; and in the holy city of the New Jerusalem, inhabited by risen

saints, shall exercise, yea, and enforce if need be, government over the whole earth. This great lesson of God's purpose, to make men capable of understanding, and to shew them some foretaste of that which was to be, God hath in his holy and wise providence permitted universal kingdoms, and permitted also the Papacy, upon the face of the earth.

Now give good heed, while I lay open to you, in the second place, the way by which Satan seeketh to prevent the Divine institution of a King of kings. It is, as in the case of Nebuchadnezzar, by leading them to believe that their own hand hath gotten them this; that it is due to their own high wisdom, regal descent, valorous prowess, skilful policy, excellent constitutions and laws, or other such personal accomplishments or accidental circumstances. This is the crime of kings, for which, like Nebuchadnezzar, they are now brought low. While they acknowledge God, and God's anointed King, which is Christ, they are like the tree in Nebuchadnezzar's vision,—fair and beautiful, stately and strong, full of fruit, of covert, and of shelter. Of which if ye would wish to see an example, look at our gracious king, and behold what a king of kings he is; possessing under his sceptre, and ruling with his benignant government, a portion of Asia, Europe, Africa, and America, and almost all the islands of the sea. See governors proceeding from our shores, to rule the kingdoms of the Great Mogul, the colonies of America and the West Indies, of New Holland and the adjoining isles, of the Cape of Good Hope, of Ceylon, and of innumerable

other strengths and fastnesses of the earth. He is a king of kings, shadowing with wings the desolate of the earth, who flee for refuge and shelter to the capital of his kingdom. Now, if God should leave our gracious king so far to himself as that he should forget his responsibility to Christ and his dependence upon Divine providence; if, in the speeches which he pronounces from the throne to his assembled peers and representatives of his people, he should make no mention of God at all, nor acknowledgment of Divine Providence at all—which was never wont to be till within these late years—then is it a manifest token that he is ceased from his dutiful allegiance unto God and his Christ; that he is worshipping the power of his kingdom: and the time is not far distant, when God, who loveth His King, shall visit and chastise for such dishonour of his Heavenly Majesty. If, again, the ministers of the king—who are his words, his acts, and the responsibility of his person—do, in their official capacity, make no acknowledgment of God whatever, nor of Christ; and forget the protestation which they have made against the Pope, and his antichristian abominations of virgin worship, wafer worship, idol worship, and the like; but do rather undertake the defence and palliation of these enormities, and seek to make no difference between those who acknowledge them and those who acknowledge them not: then, what can we say, but that the knowledge of the Most High, "who ruleth amongst the kingdoms of men, and giveth them to whomsoever he will," is at length departed from the mind of our king, as the same

is represented to us by his responsible servants? And, being so, shall we wonder if God visit? or shall we not rather wonder if he visit not?—I confess, for my own part, I stand in awe and tremble for the safety of my king and of his kingdom; believing, as I do, that there is nothing magical in the name of Britain; and that it is due not to her, but to her God, that she is exalted thus; whom if she forget, I fear that the same God who hath exalted us is both able and willing, though reluctant, yet for his own glory willing, to cast us down again.

Thirdly, and lastly. I conclude from this passage of Scripture, that it is the office and the duty of every man, who knoweth and feareth God, to act the part of Daniel, by interpreting unto the king, or the representatives of the king, which are his responsible self, those things of God's revelation concerning which they are left in the dark. And perceiving, as I do, that they are utterly in the dark with respect to the mind of God in the great matter now in controversy before all the people, I take upon me, in my proper place, which is this pulpit, to state, with the fear of God before my eyes, and with the love of my king and country in my heart, and with malice towards no man living; That nothing less is now undertaken by the responsible servants of our king, than to make no difference between men who acknowledge God and men who acknowledge him not, between men who are in allegiance to Christ and men who are in allegiance to Antichrist. It is not whether the Church of Scotland and Church of England are to be

altered—no civil nor political power upon earth dare to intermeddle in the constitutions of the church. If they were to cease to be established, they would suffer no loss, they would suffer no change. Their integrity standeth not in the accident of being established in Britain, any more than in the accident of not being established in America, or in France, or in Rome itself. The question is not an ecclesiastical, but a political question; and being a political question, it is a religious one. They say, Not religious, but political. I say, Political, and therefore religious. It concerneth the supremacy of Christ over this kingdom: *His* supremacy, and *his* only. For if the servants of Antichrist—(I speak the language of the Confession of Faith and Articles established in these kingdoms, when I call the Papists the servants of Antichrist)—I say, if the servants of Antichrist are to fill the offices which represent his Majesty, then Christ and Antichrist are put upon a par within this kingdom; God's Melchisedech and the Devil's Melchisedech are honoured alike in the person of our king: and this I say, is flat apostasy, direct national apostasy. When I say, the person of our king, I mean his responsible person, the body of his responsible servants. For what though two be excepted, they do but the more glaringly confirm the rule which they propose to make the law of this kingdom, and which I, an interpreter of God's word, warn you, warn them, warn all, God will not endure! These things I speak considerately. I speak them upon my responsibility as a minister of God and a liege subject of the king. And

I have one thing more to say, which likewise deriveth itself from the subject of this day's discourse; and it is addressed to you who are not interpreters of God's word, but liege and loyal subjects of the kingdom: That it is your part, looking upon kingly government as the ordinance of God, to serve the same, and yield unto it all dutiful obedience; not for fear, but for conscience sake: and, instead of meddling with those who desire change from our monarchical way of government, rather to avoid and look upon them as perverters of the wisdom of God. Nevertheless, know ye, and be assured, that, under whatever form of government ye dwell, it is your duty to obey the civil magistrate—yea, I would say, the Pope himself, within the states of Rome; always obeying him as a king, and not as a priest; and always protesting against his right to be obeyed as a priest, in earth, in heaven, or in hell. Because ye owe allegiance to kings, ye owe rejection of him who hath usurped the prerogatives of kings; and I may add, because you owe reverence to the preachers of the Gospel, as the stars in Christ's right hand, ye also owe contempt to the Pope, who hath claimed to have them in his own right hand. While thus I lay the basis of obedience unto kings and magistrates, and disobedience unto usurping priests, firm as a rock upon the immovable basis of God's ordination thereof, who hath a right to ask what he pleaseth of his creatures, and asketh nothing that is not for their good; I do further instruct you, that, if it should so happen, in the judgments of God, that you should be called upon to

acknowledge any Papal superstition, or any man-worship whatever; or if they should shut your mouth by any edict against speaking fully out your abhorrence of the Papacy—which I very much fear will be the next step taken in this kingdom, when Papists become co-equal and rival legislators and administrators thereof—then, I say, it is your part, like Shadrach, Meshech, and Abed-nego, to determine in your hearts that ye will not be hindered from advancing the honour of Christ, and of Christ alone, against all living who may dare to usurp upon his Divinity. Worship not the golden image they have set up. Be not silent when they are setting it up. If ever there was a time when zeal for their God, for their king, for their country, should animate the souls of these islanders, this time is now. I would not now be silent in my place, no, not for a diadem. I would not be deterred from speaking my mind against that foul transaction, no, not by a dungeon. Why? Because the honour of Christ is at stake; the safety of our king's wide-spread honour and glory is at stake; the well-being of the nation, of our fathers, of our mothers, of our brethren, of our sisters, of our wives, of our children, is at stake; liberty of conscience is at stake, which the Papists now enjoy within this realm, but which was never enjoyed within this realm till their supremacy was suppressed. They talk of liberality: take this for an example, which the Commission upon Irish Education have reported; They found not a Papist seminary in Ireland in which there was not an anti-Protestant catechism, teaching the youth that we are heretics, and given

over to damnation; and, on the other hand, there was not a Protestant seminary in which there was any thing but the pure and unadulterated word of God. But I shall not anticipate my subject.

In one word, there is a lesson taught unto the Church in general, and unto kings in particular. The general lesson is, That the Church is placed under the government of arbitrary and ungodly power, which acknowledgeth not the Most High ruler over the kingdoms of men, who giveth them to whomsoever he will: to the end that the saints may be oppressed, for this very reason, that they worship, honour, and obey God, and will not against God's commandment honour, worship, or obey the king. The saints, I say, are subjected to such cruel regiment to the end they may be stung and stimulated to the honour, worship, and obedience of God, and him only, by the jealousy which is wrought from seeing a man take unto himself Divine authority. For we, who are God's people, do need as much as others to be acted upon by jealousy and chastisement and indignity from the powers that be, before whom we should otherwise grow into subservience, adulation, and passive obedience. To the end, therefore, of guarding us from this tendency of our nature to affect power, and depend upon the powerful; to the end of preventing the church, from yielding herself a harlot to the kings of the earth, as the Papal church hath done; to the end of repulsing her from the ambition of present power, and the desire of Satan's potentates and, that she might see how utterly hopeless is her peace and blessedness while the earth is ruled by

men in flesh and blood; to the end that she may look forward with earnest expectation to the time when Messiah her prince, in resurrection glory, by his resurrection saints attended, shall come to bear the government upon his shoulder; was this long captivity, which began with Nebuchadnezzar, permitted to take place, and to continue ever since: whereby Satan and his satraps have been made subservient to Christ and his church. For, the church being God's great witness upon the earth unto all men, both kings and people, of the promise and hope of his own Son to be anointed King of Zion, the Lord did, in mercy to the whole earth, that it might not be deprived of a witness; in mercy both to kings and people the Lord did place his witnessing church in the most direct opposition to, or rather in the most abject oppression under, the power and principalities of the world: that, not only by her hopes of glory to be brought unto her with Christ, but by her sense of present degradation under the powers that now are, her constant, varied, unintermitted sufferings at their hand; not only by her affections to Him who had washed her with his blood, but by her smarts and sufferings under those who usurp his Melchisedec or priestly-royal Majesty; she might be the more zealous in that testimony to a coming King and a glorious kingdom, which is the hope of the fallen world; being jealous of his love as he is jealous of hers; that she might be prevented from contracting that unnatural and dishonourable marriage with the kings of the earth, wherein consisteth the present apostasy of Christendom, and the abomination of the Whore

of Babylon, or, as they call it, the holy Roman Empire.

The particular lesson, taught unto kings, of this night's discourse, is, that a kingdom standeth in its king; and that a king fearing God, will become a wide-spreading tree of shelter, a lion in strength, having the heart of a man for wisdom and understanding: but, if, in the forgetfulness or folly or pride of his heart, he will forget to acknowledge God, in his speeches and in his actings, then his man's heart is taken away, and a beast's heart is given to him; the far and fair-spreading tree of his benignant power is felled to the ground, at the command of the watchers and the holy ones; and his people scattered abroad, without comfort, without shelter, without food, exposed to the ravages of him who heretofore was their father, and brought into all distresses whatsoever. But if together, in their calamity, they seek and inquire after God, then shall it come to pass that He will return unto them again; pluck the wing of the heaven-usurping ambition of the king, which lifted him above the earth into the region appertaining unto God, and the Son of God, who is God as well as man: he will be set upon his feet again, and a man's heart be given to him, and his understanding will return, and he will praise the God of heaven, and he will rule his people in righteousness once more. This lesson, God enable our king ever to have in his mind! God save the King, and mercifully preserve all the people! Amen.

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DISCOURSE III.

CYRUS AND THE PERSIANS.

DANIEL vii. 5.

And, behold, another beast, a second, like to a bear; and it raised up itself on one side, and it had three ribs in the mouth of it between the teeth of it: and they said thus unto it, Arise, devour much flesh.

In our former discourse we interpreted the lion with eagles' wings, of Nebuchadnezzar, the founder of the Babylonian kingdom, and not of the Babylonian kingdom itself; because the symbol, and especially the symbolical act of plucking its wings and making it stand upon the earth and giving it a man's heart, have received no plausible interpretation when applied to the kingdom, but receive a very dignified, instructive, and exact one when applied to the king himself; signifying and pointing out that most remarkable change which was brought to pass upon that noble personage, when, for his loftiness of mind and self-glorification, he was cast down to the condition of the brutes and a beast's heart was given to him, and was afterwards restored again to the dignity of his kingdom, and to the still higher

dignity of governing his kingdom in the fear of the most high God. This not only gives us a sound interpretation of the text, but doth likewise draw forth that marvellous dispensation of God's providence into its due importance, by placing it at the head of this prophetic roll of kingdoms; in order to make it stand for a beacon, unto all his successors in sovereign dominion, against that rock of self-sufficiency whereon he was well-nigh wrecked; and so to prevent the god-like dignity of kings from passing through self-idolatry into the degradation and debasement of the brutes that perish. These words, "his wings were plucked, wherewith he was lifted from the earth, and made stand on his feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to him," being understood of Nebuchadnezzar's vain-glory, prostration, and true glory, do, as it were, hold him up to all the kings which have succeeded until now, as the great example of that brutality which attends upon self-idolatry, and that true and abiding dignity which attends upon the worship of the most high God. Now, if any one object to this interpretation that it applieth to Nebuchadnezzar personally, and not to his kingdom, I answer, that the interpretation given unto Daniel is, "These four beasts are four kings which shall arise:" the fourth is afterwards named a "kingdom, having ten kings in it, and another king diverse from the rest;" but nothing of the like kind is said of the other three, who retain the simple denomination of three kings. So that the very words of the vision do rather make in favour of interpreting the lion with eagles' wings of Nebuchadnezzar personally, than of his

kingdom historically. Besides, it is to be remembered, as we have repeatedly observed, that the first three, be they kings or kingdoms, are not given as the principal end of the vision, but as conspicuous marks, by help of which to assign its proper place and time to that fourth kingdom, to whose description the vision doth properly address itself. Now, to serve the purpose of signs, of leading signs, it is not necessary that there should be particular descriptions of the kingdoms, but rather characteristic marks of the conspicuous persons who founded the kingdoms. If we were to seek for descriptions of all the kingdoms, then would there be no difference between the object for which the fourth and that for which the three preceding ones are introduced: whereas, as we have said, the one is principal, the others only subsidiary; the one particular, the others only general. Moreover, it is to be observed that even the fourth is the description of a person—to wit, of the little horn, which forms, as it were, the vital principle, the peculiar spirit, that animates the fourth beast with ten horns: and perhaps the three preceding, while they chiefly characterize the founders of the successive kingdoms, do present us with the peculiar spirit which animated their dynasties—the first, the spirit of the lion, strong and noble; the second, the spirit of the bear, fierce and cruel; the third, the spirit of the leopard, swift to overtake its prey; while the fourth is the spirit of human reason and Divine revelation directed against God, the Author and Giver of both. And, in confirmation of this idea, it is to be observed that the character of

the Babylonian dynasty continued of the same aspiring and God-usurping wickedness which had been so signally rebuked in Nebuchadnezzar. Yea, and it perished in consequence of, and in the very act of, that daring assumption of Divinity. For when Daniel interpreted the handwriting to Belshazzar, on the night of Babylon's fall, he used these words: "O thou king, the most high God gave Nebuchadnezzar thy father a kingdom, and majesty, and glory, and honour: and, for the majesty that he gave him, all people, nations, and languages, trembled and feared before him: whom he would he slew, and whom he would he kept alive, and whom he would he set up, and whom he would he put down. But when his heart was lifted up, and his mind hardened in pride, he was deposed from his kingly throne, and they took his glory from him: and he was driven from the sons of men; and his heart was made like the beasts, and his dwelling was with the wild asses: they fed him with grass like oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven; till he knew that the most high God ruled in the kingdom of men, and that he appointeth over it whomsoever he will. And thou his son, O Belshazzar, hast not humbled thine heart though thou knewest all this; but hast lifted up thyself against the Lord of heaven; and they have brought the vessels of his house before thee, and thou and thy lords, thy wives and thy concubines, have drunk wine in them; and thou hast praised the gods of silver and gold, of brass, iron, wood, and stone, which see not, nor hear, nor know; and the God in whose hand thy breath is, and

whose are all thy ways, hast thou not glorified: then was the part of the hand sent from him, and this writing was written." We regard, therefore, the Babylonian kingdom as shewing forth that form of wickedness in man whereby kings are tempted to usurp unto themselves Divine honours, and so to bring ruin upon themselves and upon their kingdoms: for "in that night was Belshazzar the king of the Chaldeans slain, and Darius the Median took the kingdom, being about threescore and two years old."

To the consideration of the kingdom which succeeded that of the Babylonians we do now proceed, as it is described to us in these words: "And, behold, another beast, a second, like to a bear, and it raised up itself on one side, and it had three ribs in the mouth of it between the teeth of it: and they said thus unto it, Arise, devour much flesh." This description consisteth of three parts: first, The symbol itself, "like to a bear;" secondly, Its attitude, "It raised up itself on one side, and it had three ribs in the mouth of it between the teeth of it;" thirdly, Its commission, "They said unto it, Arise, devour much flesh."

1. Now the first thing to be ascertained is, what is the characteristic peculiarity of the bear, as distinguished from the lion and the leopard? Which is, I think, beautifully and distinctly expressed in the xiiith chapter of Hosea, the 7th and 8th verses: "Therefore I will be unto them as a lion; as a leopard by the way will I observe them. I will meet them as a bear bereaved of her whelps, and will rend the caul of their heart, and there will I devour them like a lion." In this

passage, the leopard hath given to it the characteristic of lying in wait for its prey; the lion, of devouring its prey; the bear, of rending and tearing it. Cruelty, ferocious cruelty, and delight in blood, answereth well to the bear; of which it is said (2 Kings ii. 24), "That two she-bears out of the wood did tear forty-and-two children which mocked Elijah:" whereas I believe it is of the nature of the lion, and of the leopard also, not to destroy more than they consume. The same characteristic differences are to be observed in the xiiith of the Apocalypse, where these three beasts are united in one, which is the fourth beast, or Papal Roman Empire: where its body is of the leopard, to signify fleetness; its mouth is of the lion, to inspire consternation with its roaring; but its feet are of the bear, to trample and tread down, to tear and mangle: agreeably to that proverb, "As a roaring lion and a ranging bear, so is a wicked ruler over the poor people;" and nothing can better answer to this characteristic of the bear having three ribs in his mouth between his teeth—gnawing and tearing them—and the commission given to him, "Arise, devour much flesh." That, therefore, which we have to authenticate of the Medes and Persians, who subverted the Babylonian kingdom and erected another in its stead, is, that they were cruel in a high degree. To authenticate this, we turn to the burden of Babylon, and its subversion by the Medes, as the same is described at length in the xiiith chapter of Isaiah; where, in verse 3, they are called, "My mighty ones for mine anger;" in verse 5, they are called, "the weapons of his indignation, to destroy the whole

earth;" and at ver. 15—18, their actions are thus described: "Every one that is found shall be thrust through, and every one that is joined unto them shall fall by the sword: their children also shall be dashed to pieces before their eyes; their houses shall be spoiled, and their wives ravished. Behold, I will stir up the Medes against them, which shall not regard silver; and as for gold, they shall not delight in it. Their bows also shall dash the young men to pieces; and they shall have no pity on the fruit of the womb; their eyes shall not spare children."—Our desire is to establish as much as possible the fulfilment of prophecy from the Scripture itself; otherwise it would be an easy matter to quote from ancient authors how great destroyers were the Medo-Persian kings, of whom Cyrus, the great head of the dynasty, and perhaps one of the most noble of men, was thus, according to Herodotus, addressed by the Scythians after his death: "Having struck off his head, they placed it in a vessel full of blood, and insulted it with these words; "Cruel that thou art, after thy death satiate thyself with blood, for which thou hast thirsted during thy life, and with which thou hast never been able to be satisfied." And, of his successors, Cambyses, Ochus, and others, were indeed more like bears than men. But I rather incline to draw the illustrations and evidences of the fulfilment of prophecy from Scripture itself. Observe then, in addition to what hath been said above, Psalm cxxxvii. 8: "O daughter of Babylon, who art to be destroyed, happy shall he be that rewardeth thee as thou hast served us: happy shall he be, that taketh thy little ones, and dasheth them against the stones!"

In that other burden of Babylon, given in the xxist of Isaiah, there is a dark, unuttered, and unutterable horror, which seizeth the prophet when Persia and Media are thus summoned to come up against Babylon:—"Go up, O Elam: besiege, O Media: as whirlwinds in the south pass through: so it cometh from the desert, from a terrible land..... Therefore are my loins filled with pain; pangs have taken hold upon me, as the pangs of a woman that travaileth: I was bowed down at the hearing of it; I was dismayed at the seeing of it. My heart panted, fearfulness affrighted me: the night of my pleasure hath he turned into fear unto me. .....Babylon is fallen, is fallen." And thus we have her destruction set forth, under the figure of threshing, which answereth well to the feet of the bear. "All the graven images of her gods he hath broken unto the ground. O my threshing, and the corn of my floor!" But perhaps the strongest confirmation of the symbol in our text, is that address in the list chapter of Jeremiah, which all interpreters give to Cyrus—(although, for my own part, I think a Greater than Cyrus is presented to us, under him as a type:) "Thou art my battle-axe and weapons of war: for with thee will I break in pieces the nations; and with thee will I destroy kingdoms; and with thee will I break in pieces the horse and his rider; and with thee will I break in pieces the chariot and his rider; with thee also will I break in pieces man and woman; and with thee will I break in pieces old and young; and with thee will I break in pieces the young man and the maid; I will also break in pieces with thee the shepherd and his flock; and with thee will I break in pieces the husbandman and

his yoke of oxen; and with thee will I break in pieces captains and rulers: and I will render unto Babylon, and to all the inhabitants of Chaldea, all their evil that they have done in Zion in your sight, saith the Lord." This character of destructiveness, for which God had raised up Cyrus, is not inconsistent with that nobility of nature with which Xenophon hath clothed him; because, as we shall see in the sequel, One more Noble than he, under whose banner, whatever it be, the tribes of Israel shall assemble to the destruction of the mystical Babylon, is signified under the person and the act of Cyrus. Nebuchadnezzar, as the "destroyer of the Gentiles" and the king of kings, did foreshew Christ as the man of war coming in judgment upon the nations who have rejected God and his Anointed; who have broken their bands and cast their cords away. But Nebuchadnezzar, as the captor of Judah and Benjamin, as the fortifier of Babylon to be their prison-house, doth prefigure, according to the language of the New Testament, the head of the mystical Babylon, which is Papal Rome. Wherefore also it is written, in the prophecy of Jeremiah quoted above, "Nebuchadrezzar the king of Babylon hath devoured me, he hath crushed me, he hath made me an empty vessel, he hath swallowed me up like a dragon, he hath filled his belly with my delicates, he hath cast me out. .....Therefore Babylon shall become heaps, a dwelling place for dragons, an astonishment and an hissing without an inhabitant." "The daughter of Babylon is like a threshing-floor; it is time to thresh her: yet a little while, and the time

of her harvest shall come." Babylon and its king, the last of Nebuchadnezzar's line, were therefore brought to destruction, because they had oppressed God's people and brought them into miserable desolation: as it is written in the prophet Zechariah, when speaking of the same four monarchies which were permitted to oppress his people: "I am jealous for Jerusalem and for Zion with a great jealousy, and I am very sore displeased with the heathen that are at ease: for I was but a little displeased, and they helped forward the indignation." And again (Isaiah xlvii. 5), "Sit thou silent, and get thee into darkness, O daughter of the Chaldeans; for thou shalt no more be called The lady of kingdoms. I was wroth with my people; I have polluted mine inheritance, and given them into thine hand: thou didst shew them no mercy; upon the ancient hast thou very heavily laid the yoke." Therefore it was that the Lord called up Cyrus against Babylon and the empire of the Babylonians, which extended far and near; speaking by the mouth of Isaiah, more than two hundred years before Cyrus fulfilled the prediction, (Isai. xliv. 28, xlv. 7), "That saith of Cyrus, He is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure: even saying to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be built; and unto the temple, Thy foundations shall be laid. Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden (strengthened), to subdue many nations before him: and I will loose the loins of kings, to open before him the two-leaved gates; and the gates shall not be shut: I will go before thee, and make the crooked places straight: I will

break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron: And I will give thee the treasures of darkness, and hidden riches of secret places, that thou mayest know that I the Lord, which call thee by thy name, am the God of Israel. For Jacob my servant's sake, and Israel mine elect, I have even called thee by thy name: I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me. I am the Lord, and there is none else, there is no God beside me: I girded thee, though thou hast not known me; that they may know from the rising of the sun, and from the west, that there is none beside me: I am the Lord, and there is none else. I form the light, and create darkness: I make peace, and create evil: I the Lord do all these things."

This purpose, unto which God had anointed Cyrus, of treading down the prison-walls of Babylon and setting his people free, is the reason why at one and the same time he should be noble and pious and merciful in himself, while his actions were fearful and bloody, and destructive in the last degree. In both he was the instrument of God: in the former for mercy, in the latter for judgment. Nebuchadnezzar was God's scourge upon his church, idolatrous and wicked, and upon the wicked and idolatrous nations around. His successors in the kingdom carried to an excessive degree the spoliation, which God not only sanctioned, but even approved, in Nebuchadnezzar. And now came the time that the spoilers should be spoiled, according to the word of the Lord, Isaiah xxi. 2: which Bishop Lowth thus translates: "The plunderer was plundered, and the destroyer is destroyed. Go up, O

Elam; besiege, O Media." And again (Isaiah xxxiii. 1), "Woe to thee that spoilest, and thou wast not spoiled; and dealest treacherously, and they dealt not treacherously with thee! when thou shalt cease to spoil, thou shalt be spoiled; and when thou shalt make an end to deal treacherously, they shall deal treacherously with thee." Against Babylon, therefore, when she had filled up the measure of her iniquities Cyrus was brought up, in order to spoil the spoiler, and set the captives free; and long before the captivity of the Jewish church he was named by name, as their redeemer from bondage, as the rebuilder of Jerusalem, and the renewer of the temple. And by Jeremiah the time, seventy years, during which the captivity was to last, was exactly fixed; and Daniel, by studying the book of Jeremiah, knew when it was coming to its close—After which, how shall these babes dare to prattle that nothing is to be known about prophecy till after it is fulfilled; and that it is a most daring and presumptuous attempt to give time, place, or person, to any predictions of God?

Now it is of importance to observe, that all the prophecies of the Apocalypse which respect the mystical Babylon, or Papal Rome, are written in the very words of the prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah concerning ancient Babylon; being, as it were, but a series of quotations from those two prophets: which puts it beyond a doubt that Papal Rome is the antitype of Babylon, within the bounds of which the saints of the Most High have been imprisoned, and under which they have been oppressed "for a time, times,

and half a time," that is, twelve hundred and sixty years. Who is he then, who, like Cyrus, is to break the two-leaved gates of Babylon, and set the prisoners free? I answer, It is our Cyrus, our Lord, "with his sanctified ones, who rejoice in his highness" (Isaiah xiii. 3): It is our Cyrus, "who is My shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure; even saying to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be built; and to the temple, Thy foundations shall be laid:" It is Christ, when he shall come, as Joshua the man of war, and, gathering the ten tribes of Joseph, shall become the Shepherd and the Stone of Israel. But first, Babylon, or Rome, must receive over it its last head, who is both of the seven and the eighth; and under him there must be a resurrection of her strength, greater than Charlemagne's, greater than Napoleon's. I say, the king of Rome, the last head, who is also of the seven, must come forth from his unseen retirements—whoever he is, and wherever his retirements be. And in the summit of his power, and in the greatness of his might, and in the springtide of his conquests, he shall be met by those "kings of the east," for whose coming Euphrates is now drying up; and when he hath "planted the tabernacles of his palace between the seas, in the glorious holy mountain, he shall come to his end, and none shall help him." This is that in God's providence which was foreshadowed of old in the breaking up of Babylon, and the death of the last king of Babylon, by the power of Cyrus, leader of the Medes and Persians: concerning whose character and acts, both literal and typical, having now discoursed, we proceed, in the second place, to explain the act of this

empire, symbolically set forth by these words: "The bear raised up itself on one side; and it had three ribs in the mouth of it, between the teeth of it."

2. The expression, "it raised up itself on one side," draws our attention to the circumstance of its being two-sided, and of the one side being higher than the other. Now, this has its explanation from the next vision of Daniel, where the same kingdom is set forth by a ram which "had two horns, and the two horns were high, but one was higher than the other" [margin, "the second"]; which is thus interpreted by Gabriel: "The ram which thou sawest, having two horns, are the kings of Media and Persia." The two sides of the bear, and the two horns of the ram, and perhaps also the two arms of the image which are of silver, do refer to the two powers of Media and Persia; whereof the last which arose became the highest. These two nations were united in the person of Cyrus the Persian; and to him is due the power and the glory of subverting the Babylonian and establishing the Persian dynasty.

Now that we are called upon to shew the rise of the two powers of Media and Persia, together with the ascendancy of the latter, it may be convenient to ascend a little towards the fountain-head of history, and unfold in a few words the doings of God's providence upon that region of the earth which he hath himself chosen in prophecy as an example to all the world. The first great empire founded in the East, was that of Assyria, by Nimrod, the grandson of Ham; who builded Babel, and likewise Nineveh, (ac-

cording to the marginal reading, Gen. x. 11) in the land of Assyria. Nineveh, became the seat of the Assyrian empire, and continued the chief city of the East for more than a thousand years. It was the instrument in God's hand for chastising the Israelites in the days of Manahem, who conspired against Shallum the king, who had conspired against Zechariah the son of Jeroboam. This judgment for these murders and usurpations was brought by the hand of Pul; in whose time it is believed that Nineveh repented, and was saved, by the preaching of Jonas, because God had yet other service for Nineveh to perform, and because the cup of her iniquity was not yet full. In the next reign, of Sardanapalus, which is the son of Pul, the Assyrian kingdom fell to pieces through civil insurrection; and Nineveh was taken, chiefly by the rebel governors of the Medes and of the Babylonians, two portions of the Assyrian empire, but it was not yet destroyed. But from this time forth the Medes began to set up a distinct head; yet not wholly independent; for we find them serving in the armies of Sennacherib, or Sargon, when he invaded Israel and Judah, and was overthrown by the angel of the Lord, in the days of Hezekiah. It is curious to observe how, so soon as ever the Medes arose into independence, they directed themselves againt Nineveh; and, though once and again worsted, they persevered, until at length they overthrew it. But it fell not until it had fulfilled the word of the Lord written against Israel and Damascus, which were overthrown by Tiglath-pileser, and made captive by

his successor, Salmaneser, who carried them away captive, and planted them in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes. Yet God suffered not such a city to perish without witnesses, but raised certain of the captivity to the highest offices in his kingdom; as is recorded in the book of Tobit, which, though we use not for matters of divine faith, we may well enough use as an historical monument. There can be no doubt also, that the prophecies of Nahum and of Zephaniah, which almost solely concern the judgment upon Nineveh, and which were given before the captivity of Israel, were carried with the captives into Nineveh, and there more or less circulated amongst the people, and especially brought to the knowledge of the king himself. For God is very merciful and gracious; as he spake unto Jonah: "Thou hast had pity on the gourd, for the which thou hast not laboured, neither madest it grow; which came up in a night, and perished in a night: and should not I spare Nineveh, that great city, wherein are more than six-score thousand persons that cannot discern their right hand from their left hand, and also much cattle?" But was Nineveh not overthrown until she had given birth to Babylon, a more persevering enemy of God's people than Nineveh itself: wherefore it is spoken thus, by the prophet Isaiah (xiv. 29), "Rejoice not thou, whole Palestina, because the rod of him that smote thee is broken; for out of the serpent's root shall come forth the cockatrice, and his fruit shall be a fiery flying serpent." Now Babylon, which we take to be

the cockatrice out of the serpent's root, was indeed, in its first foundation, prior to Nineveh; being, as is well believed, that Babel at which God confounded the language of men; but it received its form, bulwarks, and beauty, from the hand of a low-born woman, Semiramis, who had exalted herself to the throne by the violent death of her husband: in which construction of the literal Babylon, I see the symbol of the mystical, which took its shape from the antitype of all queens, which is the church, through an act of dethronement, and, so far as she was able, destruction, of her husband and her Lord, Jesus Christ. This Babylon set itself up against Nineveh its maker, and constituted itself an independent kingdom, at the same time with the Medes. So that the great kingdom of the Assyrian was now fallen into three parts, of which Nineveh, Babylon, and Ecbatana of the Medes, were the respective heads. Soon after this self-erection of Babylon into a kingdom, in the days of its second king, Merodach-Baladan, messengers were sent to Hezekiah, to congratulate him upon his recovery; to whom he shewed all the glory and strength of his kingdom: and from this time forth the prophetic burdens, both upon Judah and upon the inhabitants of the surrounding nations, derived themselves from Babylon. Heretofore it was the Assyrian, now it is the Babylonian, who figures in the prophetic word of God. But still Nineveh abode in strength, and in the days of Nebuchadnezzar overthrew the Medes; but, with all her chivalry, under Holofernes, was overthrown, as it is written in

the Apocryphal books of Judith; after which Nineveh lifted its head no more, but was in a few years overthrown by the combined forces of the Babylonians and the Medes: again representing to us the mystical Babylon, subverting, and rising out of the ruins of the ancient Empire of Rome.

Thus by degrees was the first horn upon the Ram rising up, which is Media. But as yet, the second horn, which was to be higher than the first, is hardly discernible in the history of the East. Elam, or Persia, was but a small tributary state serving in the armies of the Assyrian, though conjoined, even then, in the eye of the Prophets, with the Mede. Here, therefore, the Mede, having succeeded in the destruction of Nineveh, and fulfilled the prophecies of Isaiah, Nahum, and Zephaniah, hath nothing left to wrestle with but Babylon, which now assumeth the lead in the purposes of God and the history of men. Nineveh being fallen, Babylon became the seat of the Assyrian kings, who, in the person of Nebuchadnezzar, recollected their original greatness, and stood up the masters of mankind. To him all lands bowed: God constituted him a king of kings. He was God's chosen instrument to humble many nations, especially Judah, Tyre, and Egypt; and to him God spake by visions, as if he had been one of his own prophets; and he dealt with him as he never dealt with a Gentile king before, converting him to the knowledge of himself by very strange and miraculous means. He kept beside his right hand, Daniel; and in the government of Babylon, Shadrach, Meshech, and Abed-nego; because

"the Lord is merciful and gracious, and willeth not that men should perish, but rather that they should return and live." Nevertheless, the Lord's faithful word, spoken by the mouth of Jeremiah,—that, after his son's son, many nations and great kings should serve themselves of him,—kept its straight-forward course: and although Nebuchadnezzar died in his glory, the year after he was restored to his mind and to the knowledge of the most high God, the Lord was making ready his battle-axe and weapons of war: he was preparing Cyrus his anointed, filling his heart with wisdom, and strengthening his right hand to subdue nations before him. Four years after the death of Nebuchadnezzar, this man, whom God had named and commissioned two hundred years before, went forth from his native Persia, with only thirty thousand men, to conquer the world. The whole strength of the Persians at this time was only one hundred and twenty thousand men able for war, which is not equal to the strength of some of our largest counties: in twenty years from this time had this fore-ordained man subdued under him a larger territory than ever the Assyrian possessed. The occasion upon which he entered on his career, was to assist his uncle, Darius the Mede, against the Babylonians, who had risen in great strength to subdue him: and thus, the two horns of the ram, the two sides of the bear, being grown up together and united, the beast began to push against the other beasts of the earth. Now it is remarkable, that, though Babylon was the first to stir up the wrath

of the bear, or ram, it was the last to feel his power. For the Babylonian, having engaged Crœsus, with all the forces of the Lesser Asia, and even of Egypt, in his service, Cyrus, with his Medo-Persian forces, directed himself right westward, and ceased not until he had brought under his dominion all the nations of the Lesser Asia, from the Egæan Sea unto the Euphrates. Then, according to Prideaux, upon the authorities of Herodotus and Xenophon, he went into Syria and Arabia; and then marched into the upper countries of Asia; and, having there also settled all things in a thorough obedience under his dominion, he again entered Assyria, and marched on towards Babylon, that being the only place of all the East which still held out against him; and, having overthrown Belshazzar in battle, he shut him up in Babylon, and there besieged him; —fulfilling the word spoken by Daniel concerning the ram having two horns, "which are the kings of Media and Persia;" of which ram he saith, chap. viii. ver. 3, "That it had two horns; the one was higher than the other, and the higher came up last:" "I saw the ram pushing westward, and northward, and southward, so that no beasts might stand before him; neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand; but he did according to his will, and became great." Taking the position of the ram to be Media, his pushing westward is his conquests over the Lydians and the Syrians, and the Arabians, all of which lie west from Media; and his pushing northward, is his conquests in the upper Asia; and his pushing southward, is his conquest of Babylon and Assyria.

All this extent of conquest did Cyrus achieve within twenty years from the time of his setting out from Persia upon his first campaign; and they were due entirely to the wisdom, magnanimity, and valour, with which God had endowed him for his mighty work. All the while, with his characteristic modesty, he gave the glory of the kingdom to his uncle, Darius the Mede, so long as he lived: therefore it is said, in the fifth chapter of the book of Daniel, which records the last eventful night of the Babylonian kingdom (verse 30), "In that night was Belshazzar the king of the Chaldeans slain; and Darius the Mede took the kingdom, being about threescore and two years old." This is the same Darius who, through the envy which his governors bare to Daniel, his chief minister of state, was practised upon and betrayed to cast Daniel into the den of lions, because he would not comply with the atheistical decree of the king forbidding to present prayers unto any God. Now this happened in honour to Daniel, and in honour also to Darius, that Darius might know by whom kings do rule. For, upon Daniel's miraculous deliverance, he wrote "to all people, and nations, and languages, that dwell in all the earth," the following decree:—"Peace be multiplied unto you. I make a decree, That in every dominion of my kingdom men tremble and fear before the God of Daniel; for he is the living God, and stedfast for ever, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed, and his dominion shall be even unto the end: He delivereth and rescueth, and he worketh signs and wonders in heaven and in earth; who hath

delivered Daniel from the power of the lions. So this Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius, and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian." Darius, and Cyrus after his death, thus held the government of the world, which continued in the hands of the Persians for two hundred years; after which it passed unto the Greek.

Now Cyrus, having obtained the sovereignty of the world, did, amongst his first acts, give himself unto the work of rebuilding Jerusalem, and refounding the temple, and restoring the captivity of Judah and Benjamin; as we have it written at large in the first chapter of the book of Ezra the priest: "Now in the first year of the reign of Cyrus king of Persia, that the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah might be fulfilled, the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus king of Persia, that he made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom, and put it also in writing, saying, Thus saith Cyrus the king of Persia, The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and he hath charged me to build him a house at Jerusalem which is in Judea." This work was interrupted in the days of Cyrus, and in the reign of Cambyses his son, and in the reign of Artaxerxes (which is Smerdis the Magian), until the reign of Darius, in whose time it proceeded afresh. It was favoured next by Artaxerxes Longimanus, who is the Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther; by whom Nehemiah, being sent to Jerusalem, completed the reformation of the Jewish church and state; or rather, I should say, it was freely completed in the reign of the next Persian king. Thus, I may say, the great work

of the Persian kings was a work of grace unto the house of God; that for which Cyrus was anointed, the successors of Cyrus persevered in accomplishing. We may therefore perceive, that the great purpose which the Persian kingdom accomplished was, to break the yoke of the people of God, and deliver them out of the hands of their oppressors. The secret, therefore, of that bloody and ferocious bear, by which they are symbolized, and of that commission which they received, "Arise, devour much flesh," is this; that they were called up by God to execute judgment upon the scourges and oppressors of his people, who had passed beyond the bounds of their commission, and trampled upon God in trampling upon his sanctified ones. So, also, very bloody and very ferocious shall be the act of judgment with which Babylon the Great, the Mother of Harlots, the Papal Roman empire in ten kingdoms subsisting, shall be visited; which hath held in bonds the church of God these twelve hundred and sixty years, and in whom is found the blood of all the martyrs which have been slain upon the earth. In which cruelties Great Britain had her part, before the light of the Reformation dawned upon us: but if again—forgetting what a fearful pit of iniquity we were delivered from, and upon what a rock of security our feet have been set; with what unequalled strength our arm hath been endued, and with what surpassing glory of mercy, of justice, of liberty, of peace, and of religion, our brow hath been crowned—we will go back into the fellowship and friendship and patronage of that "abomination which maketh desolate;" then

what say you? is there any thing that hath been seen, or heard, or done upon the earth by an angry God, which we do not deserve, which we shall not assuredly receive? But this reflection more properly belongeth to the next and last head of discourse, to which we now proceed; namely,

3. To shew what is signified under the action of the bear, thus described; "It had three ribs in the mouth of it, between the teeth of it; and they said thus unto it, Arise, devour much flesh." This, like the plucking of the wings of the lion, and his consequent conversion to human heartedness, must be significant of something very prominent in the person and character of him who founded the Persian kingdom. It may likewise be found in his successors, as was the assumption of divine honours in the successors of Nebuchadnezzar; but it must be found principally in him who gave form and character to the purpose of God intended by the Persian kingdom. I do not mean to say, that the right principle of interpretation is either to unite these characteristics in the personal founder of each dynasty, nor yet to divide and separate them over the whole character and history of the dynasty; but to exercise such discretion as, while it violates not the words of the text, will give the most dignified and notable interpretation; so that in the interpretation it may not be generalized away into indistinctness, but stand out with the same prominency which it hath in the symbol. Now it seemeth to me, that the three ribs are put into the mouth of the bear in order to give meaning to the words which were

spoken unto it, "Arise, devour much flesh." Its commission is to destroy much flesh; and at this work it is exhibited to us diligently gnawing three ribs between the teeth of it. Now the question is, What are these three ribs? That they are not vague, but distinct, is manifest from the number three; and that they are symbols of three quarters, or kingdoms, where it devoured flesh, or executed the wrath of God, is likewise manifest; and what these three are, is now the question. Some have fixed upon Lybia, Babylon, and Egypt, as being the three great kingdoms which the Persians subdued. But this satisfies not, because many other kingdoms did the Persians subdue besides these: and I think, moreover, that it it is not to the conquests, so much as to the character of the beast, that we are here directed; which was, as hath been shewn, to exercise the vindictive wrath of God against those who had oppressed his people. Let any one read the chapters of Isaiah from the xliv th to the xlix th; which set forth in the foreground the mighty acts of Cyrus, and in the far distant background the mightier acts of a Greater than Cyrus; and it will be manifest that Cyrus was waging the war for God against the idols of those lands which had trodden upon his people and upon their worship, and which had therefore exalted themselves against the Most High. This God would fain have prevented, and did labour to prevent, in every place whither his captives were carried; but when he prevailed not, but they would exalt their idols above the Most High, the Lord, conceiving jealousy for the honour of his great name,

did proceed, by means of Cyrus, to make Bel to bow down and Nebo to stoop. If in this idea of the Persian's commission I be correct, then, for the explanation of the three ribs in his mouth, we must look for the three great powers which held the people of God in captivity. Now these we know from Scripture are, first, Nineveh, the capital of Assyria; Ecbatana, the capital of Media; and Babylon, the capital of Chaldea. We know, from the book of Kings, how the captivity of Israel was carried away to Nineveh and to the cities of Media; and in the book of Tobit we have some interesting details concerning their experience of sufferings there. Then we know, that into Babylon Judah and Benjamin were carried captive. Besides which, there are no places of note into which any great number of them were taken; and, indeed, no other places are mentioned at all, that we recollect, except Syria and Egypt, who had likewise their visitations from the hand of Cyrus the avenger. Seeing, then, that Nineveh, the capital of Assyria; Ecbatana, the capital of Media; and Babylon, the capital of Chaldea, are the three great prison-holds wherein God's people suffered oppression, I am minded, with the elder interpreters, to consider these as the three ribs between his teeth: and the more, if the marginal reading of the preceding clause be adopted, which is, "It raised up one dominion, and three ribs in the mouth of it, between the teeth of it." For we have already observed, that from the time of the breaking up of the old Assyrian empire, in the reign of Sardanapalus, it fell asunder into three

parts, Nineveh, Media, and Babylon; and it continued divided for the space of more than two hundred years, until it was re-united again in the person of Cyrus. Now, though Media was joined with Cyrus in his conquests, yet Media, no less than Nineveh and Babylon, fell, and continued, under the dominion of the Persian kings. So that we may say God brought forth Cyrus from the East, with his small number of Persians, and gave into his hand the three-parted dominion of the East; using the Persian to possess the Median, the Assyrian, and the Babylonian, who had oppressed his people. This we take to be the best interpretation of the three ribs in his mouth, which forms the ground, and gives the meaning of the words which were spoken unto it, "Arise, devour much flesh."

Now as to the meaning of this commission, given to Cyrus and the Persian kings, we believe it to import, that it was for judgment and consumption of God's enemies that he was raised up; according as it is written, Isaiah xlv. 13: "I have raised him up in righteousness, and I will direct his ways: he shall build my city, and he shall let go my captives, not for price nor reward, saith the Lord God." And again, xlvi. 11: "Calling a ravenous bird from the East, the man that executeth my counsel from a far country: yea, I have spoken it, I will also bring it to pass; I have purposed it, I will also do it." And perhaps, also, this other passage, Isaiah xli. 25: "I have raised up one from the north, and he shall come; from the rising of the sun shall he call upon my name; and he shall come upon princes as upon mortar,

and as the potter treadeth clay." Now, if any one would know how truly this was fulfilled of Cyrus, let him read the history of those twenty years, during which he always lay abroad in the tented field, not having time to sheath his sword, or rest in that hasty work which God called upon him to do. His standard was the eagle, and his march is compared to the flight of a ravenous eagle. It was not that he was a cruel man within himself, for he was chaste, temperate, and merciful; but it was that the Lord had much work for him to do, even the work of twenty years' continual unsheathing of the sword. The armies which followed him were great and valiant, and patient of fatigue. He taught them to fight hand to hand; he constructed new instruments of war. His soldiers were hard as iron to endure fatigue; dry bread their meat, water their drink, and battle their pleasant work. The armies that were brought against him were still more numerous; and they were brave withal; which made the slaughter more terrible, for they were always given into his hand. And then; most unlike to the soldiers of those anceint, and I may say of almost all times, he gave himself not up unto feasting when he had won the victory; but pursued his enemies the whole night long, and followed them day by day; striking down the fattest of them, and chasing the rest unto their strong-holds; where he gave them no rest, until he he had taken them captives, and forced them under his yoke. Thus was he God's sword upon all his enemies, from Egypt unto India; and so strong was the hand of the Lord upon him, to do the vengeance of the

sword, that, according to the accounts of some historians, he died fighting against the Scythians, when that speech was pronounced over his head which I have recorded above. Now it is not a pleasant, but a painful task, to follow down the story of the Persian kings, and shew how this kingdom continued to accomplish the word which they said unto it, "Arise, devour much flesh;" but yet, for the verification of God's word, and for teaching you what God can do when he is wroth, and for warning you how much more shall be done when the great work of destroying Babylon shall arrive, and that be done in the antitype of which the type is but a shadow, I will rapidly run over the acts of his successors, until the time of Alexander the Great. His son, Cambyses, gathered together the strength of his kingdom, and went down into Egypt, to fulfil the word of the Lord which had been spoken against that kingdom by Jeremiah and Ezekiel and all the prophets: of which having made a complete conquest, and executed vengeance upon their god, he made an expedition against the Ethiopians; but not with the like success, but in which it fared with him as with Napoleon in Russia, that he lost a great part of his army, swallowed up by the winds and sands of the desert. This king carried himself in his wars more like a madman than the son of his father; whereupon the Magian Smerdis possessed himself of the kingdom, but, with all the Magians who adhered to him, a great multitude, was massacred.—The next act of flesh-devouring is one much to be remembered, being that second siege of Babylon, which

had revolted; wherein the beseiged, most horrible to be told! that their provisions might last the longer, strangled all their women and children, wives, sisters, daughters; except only that every man might save one of his wives, and one maid-servant to do the work of his house: whereby was fulfilled to the letter that word of Isaiah the prophet (xlvii. 9), "These two things shall come to thee in a moment, in one day; the loss of children, and widowhood: they shall come upon thee in their perfection, for the multitude of thy sorceries, and for the great abundance of thine enchantments." Of this wicked and doomed city, Darius, having obtained the mastery by stratagem, gave them a spoil unto his Persians, who heretofore had been their servants; fulfilling the word of Zechariah the Prophet, "They shall be a spoil to their servants:" and otherwise did he bring low the glory of the daughter of Babylon. This being accomplished, the ever-restless love of carnage, for which the Persian kingdom was raised up, propelled this same Darius Hystaspes with an army of seven hundred thousand men to pass beyond the Danube, to make war upon the Scythians, sons of the desert; where he lost almost half his forces; but still he added to his dominions all Thrace, even unto the Danube. And, ever restless after conquest, as having upon him an oracle of God, he next addresseth himself to the invasion and conquest of India, and brought all that country under his dominion. And now began the Persian kingdom to fade from its glory before the rising star of Greece, of which controversy I can but notice that great loss of life, which is the subject we are now consider-

ing. Three successive invasions did the Persians make in the days of Darius without success; and his successor, Xerxes, with an army little short of two millions—or rather, including the naval force two millions, and including the servants five millions—passed into Greece, and was utterly defeated: whereupon, wherever he went, as he returned to his capital, he destroyed all temples and idols whatsoever, and especially the temples of Belus in Babylon; whereby were fulfilled to the letter the words of Isaiah and Jeremiah: "All the graven images of their gods hath he broken unto the ground" (Isaiah xxi. 9). "I will punish Bel in Babylon: I will bring forth out of his mouth that which he hath swallowed." "Bel is confounded; Merodach is broken in pieces: her idols are confounded; her images are broken in pieces" (Jerem. l. 2). Then we come to Artaxerxes Longimanus, the Ahasuerus of Esther, in whose time the Jews were permitted to take vengeance upon their adversaries far and near. Now also began sharp wars in Egypt, which, sustained by the Greeks, sought to revolt, and after much bloodshed was again reduced: and many more wars, both internal and external, which I cannot particularize, continued with various success, but always with an infinite destruction of men; until the time that the Greek kingdom began to take form and shoot forth conquest in the person of Alexander the Great.

Having thus interpreted the symbol of the bear raised on one side, with three ribs in his mouth, devouring much flesh; and having identified the interpretation thereof with the history and character of the Persian kingdom; it doth but now re-

main, to the completeness of our discourse, that we derive from the whole matter which hath come under our consideration those lessons of Divine providence over kings and kingdoms, which may be most profitable in all times, but especially in the present most awful crisis of our beloved country.

1. And first I observe, from the example of Nineveh and her daughter Babylon, how certain is the judgment of God upon cities and empires, when they have filled up the measure of their iniquity. The common theory which exists in these days is, that nations and cities owe their prosperity and decline simply to natural causes, and chiefly to their being well or ill governed. I say, from the authority of Divine Providence and Revelation, that they owe their prosperity, their stability, and their blessedness to the righteousness of all classes of their people; and they owe their decline to the wickedness of all classes of the people. The theory of our politicians—for statesmen we have none, or almost none—is, that decline and downfall come gradually on, by the operation of natural causes, which may be foreseen and provided against: such as the decline of commerce, the decline of revenue, and other things, with which God hath no more to do, or rather much less to do, than another person. I say, from the examples before us, that God doth it all; and that not gradually, but by a single or successive blows. Never was Crœsus so rich as when Cyrus overwhelmed him as with a thunder-bolt. Never was the grandeur of Tyrus or her commerce so vast as when Nebuchadnezzar laid siege to her and brought her low. Never was Nineveh more mighty and valorous, than when the host of

Sennacherib was smitten by the angel of Jehovah: and again, she had just overthrown the armies of Media, and sent Holofernes with the victorious host into the land of Judea, when by the hand of a devoted woman that victorious host fell a prey to the garrison of a besieged town, and Nineveh sank for ever, to rise no more. Never stood Babylon in such impregnable strength, with provisions in her hold for twenty years, and gates and walls defying every thing but the thunder-bolt, when in a night she perished. O infidel politicians of Britain!—for statesmen we have none, or hardly any—Ye who pride yourselves in the balance of power! will ye look back only for thirty years, and see what a feather before the whirlwind is the balance of power before the purposes of God. Did your balance of power prevent France from bursting like a volcano about your ears? Did your combination of all Europe preserve Holland from falling in the course of a week? or Italy in the course of a few weeks? And of what avail was English treasure? or the unwearied hosts of Germany? were they not like the sand of the desert before the desert wind; or like mighty rivers which lose their strength and very being in the sand of the desert? And did the unconquered armies of Frederic prevent Prussia from falling in a day? or did superstition's seven-fold mask hide Rome, or the Pope and Cardinals of Rome, from the mockery and spoliation of republican France? Was Vienna, which the Turks could never capture, safe? Was Moscow, which had sat remote from all but Tartar plunder, safe? O ye self-sufficient, short-sighted politicians!—for statesmen we have

none, or hardly any—could ye not save any little region of Europe from the paw of a vile person whom God raised up? Which of your congresses constituted Egypt a mighty kingdom in these latter days? which of your congresses hath made Greece start from the womb of oblivion? Poor wits! were ye able to prevent, with all your stratagems, the Russian and the Turk from grappling in deadly conflict? There is a God above ye, whether ye will believe it or not, that laughs at your plots, which have to do with his great purposes no more than the labour of the kitchen drudge has to do with the plans of his noble lord. Ye are God's drudges, if ye will not acknowledge him: if ye will acknowledge him, he will make you his counsellors and friends. Who, in your palmyest days of pride, brought you within a day of universal bankruptcy? who revolutionized your cabinet, and again and again revolutionized it, and now twists it this way and that way, like one that plaiteth a cord between his hands? These things hath God done with nations around us, and ye have not given him the glory. Ye offered no national thanksgivings, when we came unharmed and covered with glory out of that terrible controversy which humbled every nation of Europe. No! ye are seated above God; ye have dethroned the Heavens, and think to make the earth to rule. O ye men of yesterday, whom the breath of God made, and whom the breath of his mouth can unmake! what are ye, that ye will not give God any glory, nor take the name of Christ into your lips, though he be your King, and your king's King? If ye would know how near to judgment ye stand,

look at the nation. Measure its iniquity. Go into the city, and talk with the merchants; and let them tell you, if they can, where honesty and fair dealing dwell. Go then to the poor of all classes; and let them tell you, if they can, where plenty dwells. Go then to the sworn, the three times sworn, trustees of the state; and let them tell you where the reverence of an oath dwells. Go to the judges; and let them tell you where the ancient liege and loyal spirit of England dwells. Go amongst the lettered and enlightened men; and ask them where the reverence of God's word and the knowledge of Christ dwell. If ye would know whether the land is worthy to be judged, bring up the witnesses, and search into the character and conduct of the land. Do not men that sit in highest places, with open face declare that expediency, not principle; that expediency against principle, is the rule of statesmanship? Are not ten-times-convicted liars listened to, taken by the hand, courted and flattered, and their intimidations succumbed to? And will not God revenge? or is judgment departed from the Most High? Is he not the ancient and unchangeable One, who doeth according to his will in the armies of heaven and among the inhabitants of the earth? Or hath some one risen up amongst men who can stay his hand from working, saying, "What doest thou?" Have the enlightened times enlightened Him too, and changed Him from his ancient barbarous, bigoted course? Has the march of mind been going on in the highest heavens too? If these words be hard, if these be blasphemies to believe and fearful to utter, why, O ye

money-changing economists and self-destroying disciples of expediency! will ye leave God, God's expressed laws, and God's unchangeable principles of dealing with nations, out of your calculations concerning the right and wrong of measures, and the probability or improbability of issues?

I observe, secondly, that the reason for which the flesh of these three great empires, Assyria, Media, and Babylon, were devoured by the bear, was, because they had oppressed God's people of the former dispensation; and especially the reason why Babylon, that lady of kingdoms, was made to sit in the dust and grind at the mill-stone, was, because they would not hearken to God's word sent by the mouth of all his prophets, but would set themselves up as gods, and would drink wine out of the vessels of God, and otherwise usurp upon his high mightiness: therefore Babylon hath become pools for the bittern, and a nestling-place for the owl, and a lair for the lion. Now, if the Apocalypse, if the book of the Revelation of Jesus Christ, is in ought to be believed—as every church hath said that in every thing it is to be believed—then is Rome, that city which ruleth over the kings of the earth; is Papal Rome, head of Papal Christendom; no other than the antitype of Babylon. Rome, and the holy Roman empire, the 'holy Apostolical Roman empire,' as they style it, which hath holden in oppression the saints of God for a thousand years and more; she, with her ten obedient kings, who have her damnable doctrines, heresies, and idolatries, and given in to her mass, her

seven sacraments, her priesthood, her ritual, her superstition of every name; Rome, with blasphemy on her head and crowns upon her ten horns; is, I say, the empire which was symbolized by Babylon, and whose fall is written by all the prophets in the very terms of Babylon's fall. Now look ye into the map of the ancient Babylonian empire, which I have now before me, and find out, if you can, one spot which fell not, involved in the fall of the harlot city. Cyrus and his Persians reaped men all over the Babylonian kingdom, as the sickle of the harvest-man reapeth the bearded grain upon the harvest-field. Escaped there any province or city? No; there escaped none! See ye not, therefore, O ye sons of Protestant Britain, that, if at length we shall come again to give ear to the voice that speaketh from the Vatican, and admit into our councils, into the estates of our kingdom, those who listen to the voice of the Anarch of evil, and obey whatever his pleasure is: see ye not, that if, instead of interdicting him from our estates of government by interdicting all who have his mark and the number of his name, we shall come, we shall in self-destroying madness come, to take off our interdict, and suffer the bond-slaves of such a system to give law to free and Protestant Britain; we do thus become integrant parts of the Papal system, patrons of it, friends to it, good allies and soothfast friends, we must be judged with it, and with it fall? It is the beast with his ten horns that is judged. It is the beast, with his ten kings, that maketh war with the saints. We have been delivered from the wicked corporation; but if we should again prefer to

be joined to it, then we elect its doom; we cast in our lot with it, and we shall be judged with its judgment. It is not needful that we should become Papal root and branch—none of the kingdoms now yield unto the Pope in all things—it is but needful that we cease to be Protestant. And how can that nation be called Protestant, which admitteth Papists to the same privileges and powers of government which Protestants have? The churches of England and of Scotland may continue to be Protestant, and I trust they ever will; but that the nation is any longer Protestant when Papists are free of its dignity and offices, how can any one for a moment believe? They may call them established churches still; but they are so in name only, and not in fact, seeing the powers that be may be of any church, or of no church. The apologists say, 'not an ecclesiastical, but a political union!' Aye, it is the state, the nationality, not the church, which becomes in league with Babylon, if the contemplated measure should become a law of the kingdom; and then I say we have preferred to be joined to Rome rather than to be separate from her; and doubt there can be none, that we shall be joined with her in her judgments. And if ye would know what these judgments are, you will find them written in the xviith, xviiith, and xixth chapters of the Apocalypse.—Let me call your attention again to the last thirty years' history of Europe. Why did England escape that scourge of the Papal nations? why was every capital of Europe trampled upon by an infidel army, and London alone escaped? why was every royal family insulted by an upstart, and

ours only escaped? why was every army broken and defeated many times, and ours only overcame the conqueror? I answer, because we were then a purely Protestant kingdom; and being by our constitution of law and government disunited from the Papal body of kingdoms, we escaped the Papal judgments: yea, not only escaped, but triumphed; withstood them all, when confederated under the infidel potentate; met him in the field, overcame him, imprisoned him, and kept him a prisoner till the day of his death. These events were but the preludes of what are about to follow. While we remained constant, God had a witness amongst the nations, and he spared them for our sakes: there was still, of the Roman kingdom, a tithe, a holy portion, which continued faithful to the Lord. We are now, with our eyes open, rejecting the counsels of past years, forgetting God's grace unto us, casting in our lot with the Papal nations, admitting the Papal servants into our legislative and executive government, and, in one word, mixing ourselves as a nation with the system which God abhors. When therefore He who is the Antitype of Cyrus, He who is the Shepherd of Israel, shall come to execute judgment upon the beast who hath listened to the words which the little horn spake, we, who have so far listened to them as to count them no evil and esteem them no prejudice to any statesman and servant of, or rather actor for, the king, shall surely in that day partake the sore judgments of the Lord. The church may save herself, as I think, if she stand forth in solemn protestations against the deed; individuals, in like manner, may save themselves; but be assured the

civil state of the kingdom will go down in the general wreck.

I observe, thirdly, that Cyrus was raised up of God to gather the flock of his people, which he purposed to place again within the fold of Jerusalem; and in him all those passages of the prophets which respect the restoration of the captivity had their first accomplishment. He did not perfectly fulfil any prophecy concerning the restoration of Israel and Judah; but he gave the seal of veracity to them all, by doing on the small scale, after the same manner, that which shall be done upon the great scale, when Christ shall come to "give unto Babylon the cup of the wine of the fierceness of his wrath," and to "destroy the man of sin with the breath of his mouth, and to consume him with the brightness of his coming." Behold, then, and be instructed, O ye princes of the earth, how your kingdoms are constituted; and again, how they are destroyed, for the sake of the church. It was not Cyrus, nor the Persians, who found favour in the sight of God; but it was the children of the captivity, the faithful ones; who, like Daniel, prayed and made their supplication to him; for them it was that Cyrus was raised up, to open the prison-gates of Babylon; that Darius and Artaxerxes and Ahasuerus were raised up, in order to re-constitute the Jewish church and state. Now, what God doth he doth for ever: as he did then, so doth he now, and shall do for ever. It is his church, which he hath purchased with his blood; it is the members of his dear Son, whom he hath begotten again by his Holy Spirit; for whose sake kings are raised up,

and kings are cast down. Why was it that the Lord in his anger rejected the family of the Stuarts, and cast them out, like a despised branch? Why, but because they vexed and harassed the church, especially the Church of Scotland, which they laid desolate, and filled her sanctuaries with blood? The bones of the martyrs they scattered around the grave's mouth, as when one cutteth and cleaveth wood upon the ground: and therefore, I believe, they were rejected, and could never again regain the inheritance of their fathers. And why into this most envied throne of the world was William of Orange advanced? Because his fathers and his uncles had for generations been men of war for the Reformation, who ever drew their sword for the cause of the Reformation against the chief supporters of the Papacy —and many of them perished, some of them in the field, some by assassination—therefore was the family of William of Orange chosen to re-constitute these lands in peace and blessedness. The Providence of God is the same now as ever. He waiteth long; but sure, though slow, his judgment proceeds. See how, after Louis of France had revoked the Edict of Nantes and carried into effect the Pope's bull De unigenito—by the former of which acts the Protestants were driven out of his kingdom, by the latter the Jansenists suppressed in the Gallican church—how, after two generations, judgment fell upon every branch of the house of Bourbon. From all which I infer, that if the estates of this realm will go on taking away her honour from the church, by bringing up, first, Unitarianism and Dissenterism of every name and every creed, and then the accursed

Papacy, to the level of her orthodox and catholic ministers and people: if they will, in the face of a remonstrating church, step by step take away the distinction, which she hath so well earned to herself, of ever standing for the truth of doctrine against heresy, and ever teaching good morals and loyal obedience to all the people; then it will surely come to pass, that God will judge the state for such indifference to the well-being and honour of his church. It is not the persons, much less is it the goods of the church, we care to speak of. She was born poor, and she should never be ashamed of poverty. It is the difference between truth and error; between religion and superstition; between the worship of the true God, and the worship of the devil, between the God-man and idols of wood and stone, and silver and brass. There is more evil to a state in one of the Papal doctrines, than in all the lazy and immoral clergy in all the established churches: and the respectability of those who preach error, only makes the error the more dangerous in its operation. I maintain that the kingdom is preserved for the true church within it: but the true church is found within the bounds of an orthodox creed and a pure worship: therefore, let all men beware how they put no difference between the honourable and the vile, the true and the false; the clean and the unclean. According as this liberality, or indifference to the true religion, makes progress in our rulers, in that proportion is Christ and his true church set at nought; and in that proportion is God's anger provoked, and his judgment hastened upon a nation. He is still the same who defended Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, saying,

"Touch not mine anointed, neither do my prophets any harm."

Bear with me, while I add, in the fourth and last place, one word for the instruction of the church, derived from the history of the Persian kingdom. "When ye see these things, lift up your heads, for your redemption draweth nigh." Not until Rome shall be overthrown, and the holy Roman Empire, with its ten kingdoms, shall be given unto the burning flame, shall the saints of God possess the kingdom. We, the church in these islands, have been long blessed with emancipation from the power of the little horn: we have not been in bondage, like the saints of the other ten kingdoms: but let us now prepare for those fiery trials which are to draw on the time of the end, for it is to be a time of trial "such as never was since there was a nation until that time." God hath blessed the Protestant church of Britain with a benign Protestant government. We have sat under our own vine and our own fig-tree without any to make us afraid. Now let us prepare for other times. It is not possible, that if the liberal spirit, which regardeth all religions alike, should carry it over the Protestant spirit, which endureth only Protestants in the legislative and executive of the kingdom: if this religious leveling, this republicanism of gods, this Pantheistic spirit, shall prevail against true Protestantism, which abideth no apostasy nor idolatry nor heresy, but must ever be preaching and witnessing against them: it is not possible, I say, that a state encouraging all gods alike, and all religions alike, should go on harmoniously with a church denouncing all gods but one living and true God, denouncing all

religions but the Protestant form of the Christian religion. Pagan Rome was the most liberal of all governments in what concerned religion—equally indifferent to all gods;—but mark, that, with all its liberality, Pagan Rome, next to Papal Rome, was the greatest persecutor of the one-creeded, all-opposing church of Christ. I say again to the church, Prepare yourselves for proving that most violent of all contradictions, the contradiction which there is between a liberal state and a faithful church. My own conviction is, that liberalism, or infidelity, will possess the kingdom in this and the other states that arose out of the Roman empire: that the Papacy, all-pliable as it is for the ends of its own aggrandizement, will, partly by force and partly by inclination, come to serve the great head, the last king of Rome, who is about to ascend into his throne: and (how accomplished I know not) my belief is, that in some way this nation shall be banded with him; and that the true church, which heretofore wrestled with Paganism in bloody martyrdom, and overcame it; and which afterwards wrestled with Popery in bloody martyrdom, and overcame it; shall have to wrestle with infidelity, and shall likewise overcome it. And for our redemption from this antitype of Belteshazzar, the God-usurping infidel head of Rome—who shall surpass the impiety even of the Pope—shall Cyrus, the true Anointed of God, appear: for the elect church first, and for the elect Jewish nation next, shall he appear; and destroy the destroyer of the earth, and lead captivity captive. Be therefore, in the midst of all the sadness and gloominess which you feel for the land of your fathers; be, I pray you, with-

in your heart calm, confident, and even joyful: for though the nation perish, the church of the living God is imperishable; and I believe there is such a church within this land, by means of whose faithfulness unto the death God will accomplish the end of his purpose—which is, the redemption of his people from all bondage, and the redemption of the inheritance from all who will not acknowledge His Anointed. I say again, Be prepared against the evil to come: and when it shall come, let it come: for through great tribulation we must enter the kingdom. Be patient, therefore, brethren unto the end, for the Judge standeth at the door. Watch unto prayer. Rejoice in that ye are counted worthy to suffer for his sake. Nevertheless, be faithful and hopeful: give not way to doubts and fears and lethargy. Be full of duty, full of loyalty, full of love. Keep your garments undefiled from the abominations of the mother of harlots. Protest unto the death against her, and against Liberalism her ally—I may say, her child, for these extremes have met together. "Be faithful unto the death, and ye shall receive a crown of life."

DISCOURSE IV.

ALEXANDER AND THE GREEK KINGDOM.

DANIEL vii. 6.

After this I beheld, and, lo, another, like a leopard, which had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl: the beast had also four heads; and dominion was given to it.

Revolutions of empires do not happen by chance, but to accomplish great purposes of God: and though it may be said generally, that the pulling down of one dynasty and the setting up of another, is for the end of chastizing wickedness, teaching men God's supremacy, and especially teaching kings that God ruleth over the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he pleaseth; yet are there more specific objects, which God serveth by such revolutions of empire and changes of dynasty, as are mentioned in the holy prophecy. These are brought about with a view to the fulfilment of certain things which God hath purposed with respect to his church. According as he would change the method of her discipline from adversity to prosperity, from enjoyment to suffering, he raiseth up over her a dominion of such a character as will carry his purpose into effect. To be a scourge unto Israel, of such a ferocious

kind as should clean consume them, he raised up the kings of Assyria which dwelt in Neneveh: Pul, of the ancient unbroken Assyrian kingdom; Tiglath-pileser, Shalmanezer, and Sennacherib, of the later Asyrian kingdom, after Media and Babylon had broken away from it—men of fierce countenance and terrible doings, who were of the proper mood for doing God's work upon Israel and Syria. And until Nineveh had perfected this work of destroying Samaria, she was strengthened, first by her repentance in the days of Jonas, and secondly by a descent of the Scythians into Media, when the Medes were ready to besiege and take her: but so soon as Nineveh had accomplished this purpose of sifting Israel among the nations and laying Samaria waste, her own cup of iniquity meanwhile being filled, the Lord laid Ashur low, and destroyed Nineveh, which had subsisted for fifteen hundred years the metropolitan city of the world. Then, the Lord being minded to deal differently by Judah—to take her captive, but after a while to restore her captivity again—raised up a king of another and a nobler mood: mighty indeed, and strong; who, like the lion, by the roaring of his mouth could terrify and stun his prey, but who would not, like the Assyrians before him, mangle it, and tear it to pieces. This "king of kings" whom the Lord counted worthy of revelations by dreams and visions of the night; whom, also, he counted worthy of knowing and acknowledging his own Great Name; did not make an end of Judah, as the Assyrian had made an end of Israel, but carried them into the strongholds of Babylon, or scattered them upon the rivers of Chebar and Ulai, and

other places around; permitting to them their government by elders, and not depriving them of their prophets, Ezekiel and Daniel; until the time should come to gather them again, to restore Jerusalem and to rebuild its temple. This time being come, to change his hand and favour his people, he raised up another dynasty and kingdom under Cyrus, whom he calleth by name his "shepherd;" that is, the gatherer of his flock, the gatherer of Israel. Nebuchadnezzar was his "king of kings," but Cyrus was "his shepherd." Nebuchadnezzar personated Christ the destroyer of the Gentiles, when he shall come to rule them with "a rod of iron, and to break them in pieces like a potter's vessel:" Cyrus personates Christ coming as the gatherer of his people from their captivity under the mystical Babylon, as the destroyer of Babylon's idols and idolatries, the devourer of her flesh, the annihilater of her being: Cyrus personates Christ, the Shepherd of Israel, coming with his sanctified ones to break down the prison-house of Babylon, and to restore his people to Jerusalem, to repair their city and to rebuild their temple; an event atended with unexampled destruction to the nations which have oppressed Israel—wherefore it is called "the day of vengeance," "the great sacrifice in Bozrah," and "the slaughter in the land of Idumea." And to foreshew the same the Persian and his dynasty are set forth by the symbol of the bear, which is hounded to its work by these words spoken to him, "Arise, devour much flesh."

We now proceed, in dependence upon the Divine blessing, to open the acts and the mystery of the

the third kingdom which arose out of the agitated earth, as the same is set forth in the text and illustrated by other parts of Daniel's prophecy. The description of it in the text is in these words: "After this I beheld, and, lo, another, like a leopard, which had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl: the beast had also four heads; and dominion was given to it." In the interpretation of this symbol, and in its application to the Greek kingdom founded by Alexander, and afterwards subdivided into four great parts—the first extending over Macedon and Greece, the next over Thrace and Bithynia, the third over Egypt, the fourth over Syria and the East—and thus continuing till it was overcome and swallowed up in the last or Roman kingdom, we shall find great service from the principle of interpretation laid down already,—That, while the symbol hath a chief respect to the conspicuous personage who was raised up by God to work the revolution, it hath likewise a respect to the peculiar character and most striking circumstances of the dynasty which he set up. For example: that part of the symbol which gives the fleetness and the impetuous spring of the leopard unto the third kingdom, is applicable to Alexander in person, as is also that word of its destiny which contains the secret purpose of God in raising it up, "Dominion was given to it." But, while these have a personal and proper application to Alexander, and to him only, the other parts of the symbol—certainly the four heads, and perhaps also the four wings of a fowl upon the back of the leopard—have reference to the four kingdoms above mentioned, into which the great universal

kingdom of Alexander fell asunder upon his death. The object, as hath been said, of these symbols, is to give feature and character to the empires which they successively denote: and how well and exactly this is done, by cementing together the characteristics proper to the great usherer in, and common to the continuers of, the new empire, will be manifest to any scholar, who remembers what hath caught the chief attention of antiquity, and been most diligently recorded in these two kingdoms of Persia and of Greece; even the life and actings of Cyrus, which we have from the pen of Xenophon,—the life and actings of Alexander, which we have from the pen of Quintus Curtius, and still better from that of Arrian: (and I may make the same remark of Julius Cæsar, of Charlemagne, of Napoleon, and of every other personage who figureth in Divine prophecy.) Or, if any one will consult a modern history—as, for example, that of Rollin—he will find that the history of Cyrus standeth at the head and separate from the history of the Persian kingdom, and the history of Alexander at the head and separate from that of his successors; shewing us, that the wisdom of man, observing, characterizing, and ordering the facts, hath hit upon the same method which God observeth in these symbols, combining the peculiarities of the head conqueror with the general account of those who follow, till the dynasty change.

Let us now, acccording to our method, endeavour, in the first place, accurately to explain and apply the symbol; then, in the second place, historically to exhibit the rise, grandeur,

and passing away of this third kingdom, and at the same time search into the meaning and purpose of it in the scheme and providence of God; and, lastly, to draw from it lessons profitable unto all times, but especially to this most eventful time, to this crisis of the kingdom wherein we now stand.

I. First, then, with respect to the symbol. We have already observed, from Hosea xiii. 7, that it is of the nature of the leopard cunningly to observe and impetuously to spring on its prey; "As a leopard by the way will I observe them:" also, Jeremiah v. 6, "A leopard shall watch over their cities." For swiftness they are used as a symbol in the prophet Habakkuk (i. 8): "Their horses also are swifter than the leopards." Now, never, since the world began—not by Cyrus, nor even by the Turks—were such rapid conquests established as by Alexander, who in twelve years, from the small province of Macedon, which till his father Philip's time had been a tributary, or rather a client, of Athens or of Sparta, did extend his empire over the whole East, even unto the Ganges. To give, as I conceive, more energy and force to the symbol of fleetness, the four wings of a fowl are added to the back of the leopard; because, in truth, it was due in no small degree to his four great captains, who afterwards became four great kings—Cassander, Lysimachus, Ptolemy, and Seleucus—that he made his conquests with such great rapidity. They were first four wings: at his death they became four heads; but upon this I do not lay great stress. The wings

are emblems of fleetness; and perhaps four are chosen, to answer unto the four legs of the creature, in order to give to them additional swiftness and power: as they say of the ostrich, which, with its wings and legs together, will outstrip the fleetest courser in the race. I observe further upon this part of the symbol, that they are not the wings of an eagle, to lift it on high, with soaring ambition of that heavenly region, yielded not to the beasts, but only to the Son of Man; but the wings of a fowl, to advance it with more rapid speed towards its prey. For it is to be observed, even of a fowl, that when it would hasten its speed it useth its wings, joining together the motions of running and of flying. To confirm this symbol of the great rapidity of Alexander's conquests, we request your attention to the next vision of Daniel, where the king of Grecia is represented as coming against the king of Persia in these words (Daniel viii. 5): "And as I was considering, behold, an he-goat came from the west, on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground; and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes. And he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power. And I saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns; and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him: and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand. Therefore the he-goat waxed very great; and when he was strong, the great horn was

broken; and for it came up four notable ones, toward the four winds of heaven." And the interpretation given of this rapid subversion of the two-horned ram by the one-horned goat, is thus expressed, verse 20: "The ram which thou sawest having two horns, are the kings of Media and Persia: and the rough goat is the king of Grecia; and the great horn that is between his eyes is the first king. Now that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power."

Now observe here a confirmation, first, of our great principle of interpretation, that the worker-in of the new dynasty, the person of the great subverter of the former and erecter of the new kingdom, is characterized in the symbol of that kingdom. The Persian kingdom, even at the time that the king of Greece smote him, is still represented by the symbol of the ram with two horns, a king of Media and a king of Persia; although, truly, that symbol was proper of it only during the first year of its foundation, when Darius and Cyrus were both alive: but, because distinctness of typography, and not enlargement of history, is aimed at in these visions, the Persian kingdom standeth in those characteristics under which it began to take the foremost place in the observation of the world. —But, which more concerns the matter now before us, I note, secondly, in confirmation of the leopard with four wings being the Greek kingdom, how the coming up of the goat from the west is described: "On the face of the whole earth:" carrying and sweeping all before him, like a wide-spreading deluge; "touching not the ground," but, as it

were, skimming its surface by the upbearing and propulsion of his four wings of a fowl. "And he ran unto the ram in the fury of his power:" than which no expression can more forcibly denote the same fleetness and power which are expressed by the leopard with four wings. Also, from this same passage we have a distinct exposition of the four heads of the leopard, answering to the four horns which came up out of the root of the great horn with which the goat was armed in the beginning; and which, we are told, "are four kingdoms, that shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power." These four kingdoms I believe to be the four heads of the leopard; that of Macedon and the western parts, that of Thrace and the northern parts, that of Egypt and the southern parts, that of Syria and the eastern parts of that great kingdom which Alexander conquered, and wept that there were no more worlds to conquer.

Now I cannot but make another remark here, upon the nature of prophetic symbols; which is, that the same thing here expressed in unity of time by the four heads of the leopard, is expressed in succession of time in the other vision, by the four horns coming up after the great horn had been broken; all teaching us how needful it is to put ingenuity and acuteness to a side, and call in natural sagacity and diligent study of God's word, when we would interpret prophecy.

I may take a further light upon these four heads from the prophecy of the ram and the he-goat, derived from the words, "When he was strong, the great horn was broken:" in which is signified, not Alexander's death simply, but the destruction of his

royal line, which sought to continue itself, first in his natural brother, and then in his own two sons. This continued for nineteen or twenty years; after which the line of Alexander ceased; the great horn was broken with violence, and the four notable horns came up in succession, yet so as that the last of them was sprung up and crowned the same year that Alexander's son died without heirs; and they continued, some a shorter and some a longer season, until, one after another, they fell before the power of the next beast, which is Rome. Of these four, the European kingdoms of Macedonia and Thrace came sooner to an end than the other two, and figured less conspicuously in the history of the world. But the kingdoms of Syria and of Egypt stood out long; the former till sixty-five years before, and the other until thirty-one years after, our Lord's birth: and these two kingdoms of Syria and of Egypt do, as it were, fill up the eye of the historian, during the interval from the death of Alexander until the time that the Romans began to take the kingdoms of the East; and they are indentical with "the king of the north," and "the king of the south," so frequently mentioned in the beginning of the xith chapter of Daniel. I mention these two as the chief successors of Alexander, because I think it gives interpretation to the symbol of the third kingdom, in Nebuchadnezzar's vision; namely, the belly and thighs of brass; the belly representing it in its undivided fulness, and the two thighs of brass representing (1) the kingdom of the Ptolemies in Egypt, which embraced Cyprus, Phœnicia, Caria, &c., and (2) the kingdom of the Seleucidæ, which annexed to itself the kingdoms of Macedon and

Thrace, and so had, as it were, three of the origina four parts of Alexander's dominion. In order to see this whole matter written without a symbol, in plain language, read with me the xi th chapter of the book of Daniel, beginning with verse 2 :—" Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia (to wit, Cambyses, Smerdis, and Darius Hystaspes); and the fourth (to wit, Xerxes) shall be far richer than they all: and by his strength through his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia. And a mighty king (this is Alexander) shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will. And when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided toward the four winds of heaven; and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled: for his kingdom shall be plucked up, even for others besides those. And the king of the south shall be strong.....For the king's daughter of the south (Egypt) shall come to the king of the north" (Syria), &c.; and so the vision proceeds, through the Greek and through the Roman kingdoms, until the time of the end, when the Jewish people are delivered. I quote it here, merely to shew what a beautiful consent there is amongst the visions of Daniel with respect to the kingdom of Grecia; this last vision serving the purpose, as it were, of reconciling the others: of which two represent it as four-fold, and one as only twofold in its terminations; but this represents it as being both four-fold and two-fold: four-fold, immediately upon the failure of Alexander's line; but two-fold a little further onward, when the kingdoms of Macedonia and Thrace had ceased to be conspicuous, and there remained only the

kingdom of Egypt in the south, and the kingdom of Syria in the north, which, having swallowed up Bithynia and Thrace, became both the northern and the eastern, and hath therefore the name of the kingdom of the north; being so with respect to Egypt, which is the kingdom of the south; and being so also with respect to Judea, which lay between them, and was continually harassed and distressed by their unceasing wars with each other.

And so much have we to say with respect to the symbol by which the Grecian kingdom is represented in the text. And now we proceed to the second thing proposed; which is, to set forth the Providence of God towards the Greek kingdom, from its first appearance upon the prophetic stage until the time of its disappearance again; and to mingle therewith—for history should never be separated from divinity—the account, according to our best understanding, of the purpose which was served by God, in raising it up for its appointed time and service.

II. There is, as hath been said, some word spoken, or some action done, unto each of the beasts; which, being well considered, gives us the key to its particular service in the great scheme of God. In the first of them, by the "plucking of its wings," and the giving to it "a man's heart," is signified, that Nebuchadnezzar was God's great ensample to all kings which should enact a brutal part, to the end of shewing them that their debasement proceedeth from assumption of irresponsible and self-sufficient power, and that they become men again only when they understand to acknowledge God. And for this reason it is, as I think, placed at the

head of the four universal kingdoms which were to stand till Christ should come. The second has its high decree and purpose written for it in these words, "Rise, devour much flesh:" under which it acted, and could not rest from the slaughter of men. The third has its augury, or oracle, given to it in these words, "And dominion was given to it:" under which word of its destiny it went on unwearied to conquer. And, to make this enumeration complete, the fourth hath its work carved out to it in these words; "I beheld, and the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them.....and they shall be given into his hand until a time, and times, and the dividing of time." Its thirst, therefore, hath been for the blood of saints: since ever Rome became an empire, in its Pagan and in its Papal form, it hath ceased not to persecute the church of God; and, now that it is becoming infidel, I have no doubt it will fulfil its destiny, and hunger and thirst for the blood of saints. Now this is the reason for which it is said, in the Apocalypse, that when "Babylon was destroyed, there was found in her the blood of all the saints which had been slain upon the earth;" this being her bad pre-eminence, to destroy the church of the living God: not for the exercise of judgment called to the work, like Nebuchadnezzar, but out of a rooted and settled principle of rivalry with God, and a resolution to have unto herself that worship and glory upon the earth which is due unto Him alone.

Understanding, then, these four significant words to be the inspiring spirit, and as it were formative principle, of each of the four kingdoms, I now

return to speak of that which is appropriated to the third, expressed in these words: "And dominion was given unto it." The same character of unbounded dominion is given to the third kingdom in Nebuchadnezzar's dream; "And another third kingdom of brass, which shall bear rule over all the earth." (Daniel ii. 39.) The same vastness of power is given to the goat in chap. viii. 5: "which came from the west, on the face of the whole earth." From these things we would naturally infer, that this third kingdom should have dominion thrust upon it faster, or as fast as it could receive; dominion given to it for the taking. And, accordingly, it is a thing wont to be said of Alexander, that he engaged no enemy which he did not conquer, that he besieged no city which he did not master, and come against no nation which he did not subdue. Of this, before drawing your attention to the history of that great work of Providence shewn forth in Alexander, let me read to you what is said thereof in the first book of Maccabees, which, though it belong to the Apocrypha, and therefore is not to be used for doctrine, may yet be very well applied for the illustration of history. Verse 1: "And it happened, that after that Alexander, son of Philip the Macedonian, who came out of the land of Chittim, had smitten Darius king of the Persians and Medians, that he reigned in his stead, first over Greece (that is, Syria and Egypt, the kingdom of the Greeks), and made many wars, and won many strong holds, and slew the kings of the earth, and went through to the ends of the earth, and took spoils

of many nations; and the earth was quiet before him." Now, of the following sketch, which we are about to present of Alexander's conquests, this word in the text will be found to unravel all the wonders, "And dominion was given unto it."

Alexander, upon succeeding to the throne of Macedonia, a kingdom which in extent reached not far beyond some of our largest counties, found himself, at the age of twenty, constrained to act the conqueror; first, against the barbarians in the north, who, having been brought under by Philip his father, took this favourable opportunity, as they thought, to revolt against his youthful and inexperienced son. And, being returned with complete success, he found himself forced to become a conqueror again, over the Greeks themselves; whom his father had overawed, but who had taken this same occasion to rise in arms against him. And now, having brought all Europe, between the Danube and the coasts of Greece, under his dominion, he entered upon the great work to which God had ordained him, of subverting the Persian kingdom, and taking the dominion to himself. With little more than thirty thousand men, he met and overcame Darius at the head of more than an hundred thousand; of which victory the fruit was the dominion of almost all Asia Minor. Again he encountered the Persian at the head of six hundred thousand men; and by the victory the dominion was given to him of all Syria. Tyre, which had withstood Nebuchadnezzar in the glory of his strength for twelve years, withstood this man of dominion only half as many months. And, having fulfilled

upon it the burdens of the Prophets, he proceeded on his march to Jerusalem, with the resolution of punishing their disobedience of his orders and their fealty to Darius; but, being met by the high-priest in his royal priestly raiment, was filled with an irresistible reverence, and worshipped the God of Israel; declaring that this man, in these golden garments, had appeared to him in a dream, while he took counsel with himself concerning the conquest of Asia, and exhorted him, in the name of the God whose high-priest he was, to pass the Hellespont without fear or dread. Whereupon he treated Jerusalem and the Jews with honour; and promised that their brethren in Babylon and Media should live unmolested in the enjoyment of their religion and customs; and that, if any would enrol themselves in his army, they should have the like protection: which also they received—as, for example, when he would have repaired the temple of Belus in Babylon, and they refused to work in the establishment of idolatry, he gave heed to their principles, and suffered them to depart from his service in peace. The way being opened for him into Egypt, he entered; and as fast as he could receive possession was it given into his hands. Then, like a leopard loosed upon his prey, he with straight marches hastened to seek the Persian king; and, passing the Euphrates and the Tigris without fear or dread, he encountered Darius, at the head of nearly seven hundred thousand men, and, having vanquished him, entered into the dominion of Arbela, Babylon, Susan, and Persepolis, the chief cities of Persia. Still, however, like the leopard hastening to his prey, he pursued

Darius into Ecbatana of the Medes; where finding him not, he hastened onward, and found him at length slain by the treachery of his own people; whereupon he, that now was sole master of the world, wept bitterly over the fate of him out of whose hands the dominion had come into his own. Thence proceeding to receive more dominion, he subdued all the upper Asia, Bactriana, Sogdiana; and, passing the Jaxartes, he overcame the Scythians, who till now had been thought invincible: and, to cut short this narrative of his conquests, he passed the Indus, and having subdued all the nations around, such was his thirst of dominion, that he would have pushed his conquests to the ends of the earth, but that his soldiers, weary of conquest, and not having upon them the word of the Divine oracle, could not be prevailed upon to advance further. They thought not of resistance to their king, they thought not of mutiny, they thought not of fear, but they were wearied out with conquest: and the veterans of his father's armies, and the companions of all his victories, stood before him, and lifted up their voice and wept aloud; until the king himself, melting from anger into pity, could not prevent himself from weeping along with them. So true it is that he wept because he was restrained from conquering more. Can any thing prove so well as this, that his gift was dominion; that the thirst of dominion was that which fitted him for fulfilling the purpose of God? From this, the extremity of his race of conquest, he returned to Babylon; and, there proposing to plant the palace of his kingdom, he set himself with all his might to restore its decayed glory; and would not be diverted

from his purpose by any warning, but would labour against the decree of God, which had gone forth against Babylon. Wherefore the Lord, who heretofore had led him because he was his servant, did now turn his hand against him, in the prime of his youth, and cut him off while only thirty-three years of age; having within eleven years, with the help of thirty thousand men, conquered all the world, from the shores of the Adriatic Sea to the banks of the Ganges, and from the Indian Sea to the borders of the Scythians—incomparably the largest kingdom that hath ever been established upon the earth: for the Romans hardly passed the Euphrates, whereas two thirds of this kingdom, or at least one half of it, was beyond the Euphrates; and the western kingdoms of Europe beneath the Rhine and the Danube, including Africa, west of Libya, will not, as appears to me, at all measure against the vast dominions of Alexander beyond the Euphrates. Be this as it may, we have, I think, sufficiently established the word of our text as characteristic of the Greek king, "Dominion was given to him." Now, it is not as if he passed through these countries like a meteor, leaving no trace behind; for verily he did take, and hold, and exercise, the dominion of them: and over all this extent of the world, so well was it prepared of God for receiving him as its master, there was not one insurrection, that I remember, save of the inflexible Spartans, who being soon subdued, stirred not again to disturb the dominion which God had given to the man of his choice.

It is not enough to say of these main revolutions of God's providence, whereby in such sudden and

marvellous ways he doth subvert the foundations of the political world, that they are done for the purpose of punishing the wickedness of the rulers and their people: for though this doubtless be the first cause of all such visitations of his wrath, yet is there besides the gradual unfolding of a great purpose of redemption, with which the Almighty mind is ever full, and concerning which his word doth ever testify. His providence is not a succession of avenging blows upon kings and nations, one after another; repeated, and to be repeated without end, whenever their cup of indignity cometh to be full. There is more than this present in these direful acts,—even a work of grace and mercy, to the end of confirming, preserving, establishing, and finally of crowning the visible church, wherein is his election according to grace. For example, the Flood came not without a covenant unto the preserved family of Noah. When the families of mankind were permitted to fall into idolatry, one family was preserved for a witness to the one living and true God, and carried about from kingdom to kingdom with most notable preservations of God. When Chederlaomer and his eastern kings came upon Sodom and the neighbouring kings, it brought honour and glory to Abraham by their overthrow: and when the nations of Canaan were destroyed, it was for the settlement of Israel in their room, and for fulfilling the prophecy made unto the fathers. And I may say, in every cloud and storm of God's wrath there is a bow of peace: there is mercy mingled with all his judgments; there is good in all his providence. Christ, the beginning and the ending, is also in every step of the pro-

gress of the purpose. History is only the handmaid of divinity, the record of that providence which is the fulfilment of God's word. Prophecy is to providence, what word is to act; and both are to divinity, what the acted word is to the mind and will of him who hath spoken and done it. Now, I have much reflected with myself to discover what might be the mystery of God in the raising up of Alexander, and the giving of the dominion into his hands; and the result of these considerations I shall now lay before you.

Like the other revolutions of great empires, this also deriveth itself from the church. Nebuchadnezzar was raised up in order to bring the church into captivity; Cyrus was raised up to bring the church out of captivity: and if we examine what was the intention of God in restoring the captivity to Jerusalem, we shall obtain light, as I conceive, upon the subject both of the Greek and of the Roman kingdoms. There can be no doubt, that when Nebuchadnezzar had consummated the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, and had carried the people captive, leaving the land barren and desolate without an inhabitant, from that time the nationality of the twelve tribes was broken up, and their long, long captivity commenced. The restoration by Cyrus was not an act rescissory of the former act, but affected only a very small proportion indeed of the captives, not one in a thousand returning with Ezra and Nehemiah: and those who did return, returned not to national dignity and independence, but to as sore, perhaps a sorer, captivity than those who remained behind. For

certainly no portion of the tribes could suffer as those who were established in Jerusalem and Judea suffered, from the surrounding nations during the continuance of the Persian kingdom, from Egypt and Syria afterwards, and finally from Rome. They changed indeed the place of their captivity: they endured their sufferings in their beloved Jerusalem, and in sight of their holy house; and whatever consolation there was herein, they did possess; but besides this they had neither more honour nor safety, and, generally speaking, I would say much more suffering and persecution, than their brethren in Babylon and in the cities of the Medes. Wherefore, then, was that portion of the captivity restored, Jerusalem rebuilt, and the temple service reconstituted? I answer, because thus it was prophesied to be when Messiah should come. He was to ride into Jerusalem upon an "ass, and a colt the foal of an ass:" he was to "come to his temple," and "zeal for the honour of his Father's house was to eat him up:" the "light was to arise on the land of Zebulon and the land of Naphtali:" he was to be born in Bethlehem-Ephratah: and, in short, every prophecy connected with his coming had its locality laid in the land of Judea, and its circumstances derived from the conditions of Jewish people and a Jewish worship, and every other thing Jewish there subsisting. Forasmuch, then, as the Lord's purpose was that his people should be brought under the yoke by the Assyrian and Babylonian kings; and as it was also his purpose that some centuries afterwards, when his Son should come, he should find his people and their worship still existing in Jerusalem

and the land of Judea; there was no way of making these two meet together in one, but that which he adopted, of restoring, by the hand of Cyrus and the Persian kings, a seed of the most faithful among them; who, while they continued his testimony for the one living and true God, might still be in bondage with their brethren, and also have all things constituted in that order in which Messiah was foretold as being about to find them. While, therefore, our key to the labyrinth of the Assyrian and Babylonian kingdoms was the purpose of God to bring his chosen people into captivity; our key to the Persian and Macedonian kingdoms must be derived from his purpose of having a portion of his people subsisting in Jerusalem, and enjoying their religion there, at the time of the coming of Christ. But the whole of the matter is not yet told.

We have said that the glory and the greatness of the Jewish nation came to its end in the time of Nebuchadnezzar; after which, the Shechinah departed from the temple, and the fire of heaven from the altar, and the power of Urim and Thummim from the high priest's breast; and from thenceforth the Jewish synagogue was exhibited in humiliation, under bondage, and subject to the Gentiles: all presaging a Messiah about to come in lowliness and affliction; the mother being, as it were, brought low, in order to conceive a child of "sorrows and acquainted with grief." God had purposed that his Son should shew forth his love by coming to us in a despised and rejected form; and as the Jewish Church was but as a mother for producing him, she was brought

into the same lowly conditions in which it was purposed he should appear; to the end that in all respects he might be like unto his brethren, and his brethren like unto him. But, besides this, it was the purpose of God, upon the rejection of Messiah by "his own," to whom he came, to gather out of all nations a people for his name; to preach the Gospel unto every creature under heaven: and for this end, to furnish his preachers with the gift of tongues, by means of which they might be able to preach unto men of every nation and kindred and tongue. Moreover, it was his mind to add unto the Scriptures of the Old Testament, other Scriptures of the New Testament, which should represent the substance and body of that truth which was to be preached unto all nations. It was therefore necessary to have a language in which they might be written of an equal largeness and generality with the truth, and the promulgation of the truth, which was to be written therein. To obtain such a universal language, at once fitted to express universal truth and to give it universal promulgation, was, I believe, one chief end of the great dominion which God gave into the hands of Alexander. This is a point which will require some explanation, and therefore I request your attention to the following observations.—

The truth contained in the Old Testament, though in substance it be the same truth contained in the New, was forced into peculiar artificial forms; for the sake of which a nation was separated from all nations, with peculiar laws and constitutions, answerable to those forms under

which the universal truth was first embodied for the use of men. What was the ceremonial law, with its absolutions and redemptions and sacrifices, and offerings, but an artificial institution for giving outward, visible, enduring forms to certain great ideas of sin and atonement for sin, of bondage and deliverance from bondage, which were necessary to be known, before the work of Christ could either be expressed or understood? What was the whole political constitution of Israel—its twelve tribes, its one holy tribe, its holy family within that, and its high priest—but a means of expressing that various condition of his creatures which God was minded should exist in the age to come? And so I may say, also, of the outward court of the Gentiles, the outward court of the people of God, the holy place for the priests, and the most holy place for the high priest; what was all this, but the sanctification of place and the exhibition of the various degrees of sanctity in which place should hereafter exist? And so I may say, of every thing peculiar to the Jewish nation, that it was one great institution for giving signification to an artificial language, in which should be expressed the universal truth of God's eternal purpose in his Son. But when the time drew near for expressing these truths, not by the peculiar symbols of one nation, but by symbols common to all nations, it was necessary first to prepare such a vehicle. This God had been doing already in the Greek language, which, from the time of Homer, and even before that age—which is parallel with the time of David and Solomon—had been receiving into itself the treasures of

poetry, philosophy, science and art, eloquence and history. The Greek people was the very opposite of the Hebrew people: the one diffusive, the other contracted; the one speculative, the other believing; the one seeking and searching into all knowledge, the other despising all for the knowledge of God and his revealed will. And each had a language proper to itself: the one ductile, the other rigid and inflexible; the one copious, the other confined; the one comprehensive, the other exact; the one fitted for truth in its universal forms, the other for truth in its limited and artificial forms.

Now then, contemplate the purpose and end of God, to bring in his Son in a state of humiliation, and through him to introduce a new book, containing religion divested of the peculiarities of a nation and an age, in the naked beauty and majesty of universal and unchangeable truth, through the means of the Greek language, which by all cultivations he had fitted and endowed for being the vehicle of such knowledge; look at this end from the beginning, and you have, as I conceive, the mystery of the Greek empire which was erected in the person of Alexander: for otherwise, than by such a dominion as he achieved, could not this language have been introduced into the East, and especially among the Jewish people, who were so tenacious of their consecrated tongue. And the Lord, in order to help on the great revolution, so brought it to pass, by the Babylonish captivity, that the people should ever afterwards speak the Chaldee language; and the Hebrew from thenceforth ceased

to be the vehicle of Divine instruction in the synagogues, where the lessons were translated into the Chaldee, as they were read. Very soon after the death of Alexander, in the reign of the second king of Egypt, Ptolemy Philadelphus, the whole Hebrew Scriptures (at least the Pentateuch) were translated into Greek, for the use of the Greeks who lived at Alexandria and elsewhere: and thus the Greek language, being forced through the rigid moulds of the Hebrew Scriptures, acquired still greater aptness for that office whereto it was predetermined and preparing. From the Greek version of the Old Testament our Lord and his Apostles always quote, and not from the original Hebrew. This is a very remarkable circumstance, not otherwise to be accounted for than on the principles laid down above,—that the Lord would declare his purpose to take the universal language, and not the peculiar one, for conveying the truth of the Gospel unto men. The empire of the Greek language continued long after the four successors of Alexander had all succumbed to the Romans, who adopted the language and literature and philosophy of the Greeks: so that when the Apostles wrote the Gospels and the Epistles for the use of the universal Church, they found it best to write them in the Greek, and not in the Latin tongue. Another thing is worthy of remark in this place: that, in like manner, before the second great work of preaching and conversion began in the Reformation, the knowledge of the Greek tongue had been revived in Europe for a century, and therewith the knowledge of the New-Testament Scriptures in their original form.

This, therefore, I believe to have been the great mystery of the Greek kingdom, to bring into common use that language in which God was pleased to write the New Testament, by bringing the people who used it to the head of the world. The great mystery of the Persian kingdom was to bring Jerusalem and Judea, and the Jewish people, into the estate in which they were to be when Christ should come: the great mystery of the Greek kingdom was to give unto the Holy Ghost that language through which it was provided that the Gospel should be taught unto all men. To enter further into this subject belongs rather to the scholar than to the preacher; and therefore, leaving it in this general form, we proceed now to trace downwards from Alexander the history of the Greek kingdom, and its bearings upon the Church of God; which is very instructive indeed.

In the days of the great founder of the Greek empire, the Jews received the most marked protection, and the most enlarged toleration of their religion and customs: nor was it until the time of Antiochus Magnus, and Antiochus Epiphanes, and Demetrius, three kings of Syria, that they began to suffer those unprecedented calamities which threatened both the extirpation of their religion and their nation. Here was a period of one hundred and fifty years from the foundation of the Greek kingdom, and more than three hundred from the return out of Babylon, during which the Jews had comparative peace in all parts, and especially in Jerusalem; whereby they were enabled to multiply, and enlarge

themselves into a great nation, and acquired strength to bear up against the most barbarous and unremitting attempts of Epiphanes and Demetrius to root them out, and, with them, to root out the knowledge of the one living and true God. The sufferings of the people in Judea and Jerusalem are not to be told, beginning from the time that the Egyptian and the Syrian kings began to make war upon each other, and ending in the establishment of the family of the Maccabees on the throne. Now, the question is, what was the purpose of God by these most severe afflictions of his people? I think it may be well answered, In order to preserve the church. The corruption of manners, the dissoluteness of life, the irreverence of religion, the profligacy of the high priests, their open patronage of heathen customs, had risen to such a pitch of enormity, that religion must altogether have perished, had not God inflamed the zeal which was still slumbering in the land, by the mad attempts of Epiphanes to destroy the worship of the true God and his nation of witnesses from the face of the earth. This introduces us to another end of the Greek empire, and another method of God's dispensation, to which I would draw your attention.

As I believe that Alexander the Great was raised up to carry forward the purpose of God to preserve his people in Jerusalem, and increase them there, till Christ should come and find them a great nation, which he accomplished by means of all gentle and gracious dealings with them: so I believe, that, for the end of preserving their religion and customs in some condition of purity, it

was ordained of God, that, between the Egyptian and Syrian kings, successors of Alexander, they should be placed, as it were, in a state of continual trouble; which ended, during the reigns of Epiphanes and Demetrius, in the most horrible persecutions of which there is any record in the history of the church. What with apostasy at home, and a succession of apostate high priests leading the apostasy; what with invasion from abroad, and cruel edicts of the Syrian kings; it seems almost a miracle that the Jewish church and nation did endure. The Syrian king, having commanded all the nation under him to be of his religion, found them all, even the Samaritans, very willing to comply: so that against Judah and the parts adjacent was the whole power and wrath of the Syrian empire directed. Army after army marched to the doomed spot; and army after army was broken and dispersed by Judas and his brother, as you have it recorded in the books of the Maccabees. Such valour in the field, such zeal towards religion, was by means of the fiery trial enkindled, that ever afterwards, until the coming of Christ, the church and state of the Jews abode in strength, and were found by Christ in that condition which you see written in the Gospel. The patronage of Alexander, and the quiet which they enjoyed for one or two reigns next succeeding, fostered the nation into strength; and when their prosperity was ready to carry them into all manner of idolatries and abominations, the unheard-of violence and cruelty and madness of Epiphanes and Demetrius purified and refined them, and gave them virtue to endure,

and be found in that state of comparative strength wherein our Lord did find them. And thus, between patronage and persecution, God accomplished his great end of bringing up from the long captivity a portion of his people, and preserving them in Jerusalem, until the coming of Christ; while, by the same means of the Greek kingdom, he did give to the most universal of all languages a metropolitan and imperial dignity upon the earth, such as did well fit it for being the depository and the vehicle of the universal truth, which in the New Testament he had prepared for all nations. And these, as it appears to me, were the two great ends of the kingdom of the Greeks.

Another fruit of the unexampled persecution which befel God's people in the days of Epiphanes and Demetrius, was to drive them forth from Judea, that doomed and devoted spot, into other regions of the world, where they might with less fear exercise themselves in their religion: and, the ordinance of the Jews being, that wherever ten free Jews, grown to man's estate, resided, there should be a synagogue for the worship of the one living and true God, and for the reading of the Law and the Prophets, it came to pass through these severities, that the testimony of God was greatly spread abroad; and because at this time the reading of the Prophets came to be used in the service, which had hitherto employed only the reading of the Law, they were delivered more and more from resting in the ceremonies, as things profitable in themselves, and taught to embrace the hope of Messiah which

was about to come, and whose coming is the great cardinal object of all prophecy: accordingly we find, that from the time of the Babylonish captivity the nation became more prospective, and less retrospective, than it had hitherto been. This was one great end of the captivity, to uproot the resident affections of the Jewish people from present things, and to bring them into the attitude, the only proper attitude, of God's chosen people,—the attitude of looking forward to and hoping for Him that was to come. Like other men and nations, we who are God's witnesses would fain fill our hearts with present things, and make to ourselves a house of contentment well furnished with all conveniences for the life that now is; but God, who hath ordained that we should be strangers and pilgrims upon the earth, looking for a city, and not possessing it, doth ever and anon, by persecutions and captivities, goad his church forward, and dislodge her from those rests which she would fain construct for herself. This I believe to have been the chief cause of the long captivity which began in Nebuchadnezzar's days, and likewise of the sore persecution which came upon the Jews in the days of the Maccabees. They were scattered abroad; they were forced to hope for better days; and finding that all hopes of better days unto the Jewish people centered in Messiah, written of by all the prophets, they clung to the hope of Him in all their national distresses; and wherever they went they carried that hope with them, over the whole world; and wherever the knowledge of the one God still

lingered amidst the errors of idolatry, the Jews revived it, and thus drew to themselves all the devout men of every nation under heaven: whereby that hope of a Mighty and Holy One to come out from God was extended amongst the most pious and enlightened of every nation, and so became the common hope of all the East, opening the way to the Apostles, who went forth into all the world, preaching the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. This preparation for the preaching of the Gospel could never have come to pass had the Jews remained in their own land, and in the use of their own language; but, by being broken up and scattered abroad, by being brought to dissociate God from a place, and to separate between his truth and the language in which it was originally written, by being led to use the Greek version of the Scriptures, a prodigious step was made towards that universal Gospel, which was first preached by Jews, and first planted in the hearts of Jews. The Jewish nation was the seed-bed of Christianity: in their synagogues it was first preached over the world, and by their conversion the conversion of the Gentile world was chiefly brought to pass. Now, every bud gradually expands itself, and opens for the flower which is to come forth of it: so did the Jewish nation change its form, enlarge, disperse, and liberalize itself, for the purpose of being the mother of the universal Gentile dispensation. Perhaps, next to the constant custom of our Lord and his Apostles to quote from the Greek rather than from the Hebrew Scriptures, the strongest proof of what we say is,

that when the day came for diffusing the Spirit abroad—the day of Pentecost, from which the Gentile dispensation dates—God so provided it, as that there should be men from every region within the Greek kingdom then residing in Jerusalem; and he ordered it so that the first discourse should be preached in the hearing of these men: teaching us thereby, that there was a close connexion between the dispersion of the Jews over the Greek kingdom and the work of Pentecost. Moreover, to shew us by an example how efficacious this Divine combination of circumstances was, we have the particulars of the Eunuch and Philip related to us at length: where observe, that not through a Jew, but through a devout proselyte, the Gospel was carried to Ethiopia; and so, also, through Cornelius, likewise a devout proselyte, was the Gospel preached by Peter unto the Gentiles: all teaching us, that the impression which the Jewish worship of one God, without an idol to represent him, did make upon the wiser and better sort of the Gentiles, was a leading object in the Divine purpose, and mainly contributed to the rapid spread of the Gospel. God did, as it were, gradually undermine the middle-wall of partition, but kept it standing, till the time when, by Christ's death, it was no longer necessary, and then it fell flat to the ground. I see a wisdom in all these dispensations to God's people through means of the Greek empire, which I have thus endeavoured to express, but I fear not to the conveying into the minds of others of that conviction which is in my own; but let it suffice.

We now proceed, in the third and last place, to deduce from the whole matter of this discourse such lessons as may, by the blessing of God, enlighten us in his dealings with nations, and especially cast light upon the fearful condition in which, as a people, we are now placed.

The characteristic distinction, as we have seen, of the Greek empire, was dominion, as that of the Persian was destruction; and, therefore, the first lesson which we ought to learn from the premises is, that God can give dominion, and can take away dominion, when it pleaseth him; and that all dominion proceedeth from his own good-will and pleasure, for his own good and righteous ends. How quickly he can wrest the sceptre of the world out of the hands of a mighty king, and put it into the hands of one weak and despised, is well shewn unto us in the history of Alexander; and the lesson hath been repeated to us of late, in the person of Napoleon, whom God raised from nothing, and made him more powerful than any emperor of the West. The same lesson, in perhaps a still more striking way, has been given to this country; whereof, not the king, nor any of his noble peers, but a company of private traders, have had dominion forced into their hands over the widest, most wealthy, and most powerful dominions of Asia. Dominion hath been given unto the servants and subjects of our king, over kings, and I may say kings of kings. The servants of our God, the members of our Protestant church, have successively subverted the kingdoms of the Mohammedans, of the Brahmins, and of the Budhists. Dominion hath been given into our hands: to such an extent, in-

deed, were our hands filled with dominion, during those years when dominion was wrenched from the hands of the Papal kingdoms, that when God withdrew his anger for a while, and peace was restored to the troubled nations, we were able to bestow gratuities of large and populous islands upon many kings, without asking any thing in return, without feeling our territory curtailed, or our power and wealth diminished. With such lessons taught us, not only in time past but in time present, we ought surely to know, and to acknowledge, that power is from the Lord, and that dominion is bestowed by him upon those whom he pleaseth to favour. But if we seek for signs of such acknowledgment, where shall we find them? In the words of our rulers we find them not, in their actions we find them not. The general who hath been instrumental to the conquest, hath honour and glory and riches bestowed upon him; the governor who well conducteth and peaceably composeth the subject states, is counted worthy of acknowledgment and reward; but what acknowledgment unto God, "who is strong in battle;" what acknowledgment unto Christ, "who ruleth amongst the children of men;" is there made, when another empire —as the Burman, for example—is added to our dominion? What stipulation in our treaties is there made for the liberty of preaching the Gospel and proclaiming the name of Christ over the lands which Christ hath given to our swords? What protection is there extended towards the Missionary, who is willing to proceed thither with the Gospel of peace? None whatsoever; but, contrariwise, scorn, scoffings, neglect, and perhaps

persecution. The hue and cry is raised against every undertaking to make the name of Christ known unto the men whom Christ hath brought under our dominion. And how then is Christ honoured by this Christian people? And how is our newly acquired dominion acknowledged to be from Christ, if so be we are afraid to preach amongst them the glorious Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ? Dominion hath been given to Britain in as remarkable a way as ever it was given to Alexander the Greek: and methinks we have made less acknowledgment unto God than he did; who spared Jerusalem for the sake of the God whom the high priest represented, and the chosen people of God he did every where protect and patronize; but we have forgotten God in our conquests, and been content that the conquered nations should never know Him who hath redeemed them with his own blood. Oh, when I reflect upon the unworthiness of man, it maketh me to stand amazed at the unspeakable goodness of God. Surely it is not for any worthiness in us as a people, that we are thus preserved, that we have been thus enlarged with dominion; but because God had a mind to humble unto the dust the superstitions and idolatries of the nations, and to that end made usé of us as his instrument. Would that we did know him! Then would he make us his instrument for making the nations also to know him. But if we go about to set light by the living God in national affairs, and to affect an impartiality between Him and Antichrist or Mohammed, or other inventions of the devil, he

will not long endure our contempt of his one and only Divinity; but will come upon us with sore chastisements, and give us into the dominion of strangers, and our enemies shall rule over us. The Lord he will not bear the king and the rulers who, after knowing him, and swearing to know Him alone, do yet go about to establish the principle that the acknowledgment of the one living and true God is no necessary qualification for a counsellor or legislator or governor of this kingdom. It cannot otherwise be, but that God will justify himself against such abominable and detestable dishonour done unto his name. He will teach us by whom it is that kings do reign and princes decree justice. He will teach us for whom dominion is held by the sons of men. But where is he to find another Protestant nation? where is he to find a better nation, into whose hands he can give the dominion over us? There is no better: there is none so good. All the nations are become apostate; either acknowledging the Pope, or denying Christ, or dealing with an equal hand by all religions. When the best hath become bad, when the nation that was faithful unto God hath also become faithless, what remaineth, but consumption, general consumption? A vile person, a scourge of God, must again be raised up; one who will trample down and tread upon the nations, as he did who lately passed away. The neck of this proud rebellious nation will, I believe, be bowed down to the yoke of the infidel head of Rome, about to be raised up. O that the Lord would teach us to repent and to believe his word!

to honour Him, who is King over all the earth, and bestoweth the dominion thereof upon whomsoever he pleaseth!

The second lesson which I derive from the history of the Greek kingdom is, The peril to any state which dareth to persecute the church of God, and the contrary prosperity and blessedness to that which favoureth the same.—Alexander, who gave the Jews equal privileges in his cities of Egypt with the Macedonians, was prospered in all his undertakings; and so was Ptolemy Soter and Ptolemy Philadelphus, his two successors—under the latter of whom the Scriptures were translated into the Greek language;—but when the Egyptian king who succeeded next but one, insulted the temple of the Lord, by entering within the wall of partition; and, being hindered by God's interposition, did return to his kingdom, and upon peril of death command the Jews to renounce their religion, and did otherwise proceed with various cruelties against them; from that time forth Egypt fell from its greatness, and was cursed with a succession of miserable monarchs, who disgraced not the name of king merely, but the name of man. And the like reverse, arising from the like cause, is to be observed of the Syrian kings: amongst whom Antiochus the Great was favoured of God beyond all that had been before him since the days of Alexander; because he was ever a favourer of the people of God; whom he delivered out of the hands of the Egyptian kings and their rapacious governors, by his proclamation sanctifying and defending from intrusion the inner court of the temple, which the Egyptian king had profaned. So

favourably likewise dealt he by the Jews seated in Babylonia and Mesopotamia; giving them his confidence, and using them for bridling the turbulent parts of his kingdom by putting the strongholds in their hands, and granting unto them large and liberal grants of land. But when Antiochus was removed, and Epiphanes stood up in his room, he early set himself to fill Jerusalem with blood, and profane the temple, by setting up the statue of Jupiter upon the great altar, and sacrificing unclean beasts before it. Their sabbaths and festivals were profaned; their children forbidden to be circumcised; and if circumcised against the king's commandment, they were hanged round the necks of their mothers, and with their mothers cast headlong over the walls. The law of Moses and the other sacred books were every where sought out and destroyed; army after army, as hath been said, was marched into the devoted land: which being ever and anon met and defeated by the prodigious valour and intrepidity of Judas Maccabeus, king Epiphanes, who was then in the East, returned with great fury, threatening that he would make Jerusalem a place of sepulture for the Jews, wherein he would bury the whole nation, destroying them to a man. But, like Herod, the word had no sooner escaped his mouth than he was smitten with a horrible disease, and died in the most disgusting condition of body and under the most fearful agonies of mind. And from this time forth the Syrian kingdom began to decline and fall away. Upstart pretenders to the throne, impostors of every kind, were ever after raised up by God, and the dominion given into

their hands; until at length it fell an easy prey before the rising power and greatness of the Roman empire. Let this teach unto nations a lesson how they meddle with the sacred privileges of the church of Christ. But if I mistake not, there is more than a lesson held out to us in the fall of the Egyptian and Syrian kingdoms. They fell from their greatness because they trampled upon the distinction between Jew and Gentile, and wished to abolish it. Ptolemy Philopater dared to push his way into the inward court, whether an uncircumcised man might not go; Antiochus Epiphanes dared, by his officers, to do likewise, and even more wickedly. And we are attempting, in our days, to break down the middle wall of partition, which in the church of Christ is set up between the apostate nations and this Protestant nation. That there is such a middle wall of partition every one knows, who knows the idolatries and abominations of the Papacy; with which Protestantism, that acknowledgeth no superstition and boweth to no idol, can never intermingle. Still better is it known by those who understand the Apocalypse, and see therein the apostasy and the true church set forth by the very symbols of the inner and outer courts of the temple: "Rise, and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein: but the court which is without the temple leave out, and measure it not, for it is given unto the Gentiles; and the holy city shall they tread under foot forty-and-two months." Now, what is it that is now attempted by our legislators?—even this very thing which Plotemy and Epiphanes dared to attempt: to break down the middle wall of partition between

the true church, which hath been drawn out of the apostasy, and the apostasy, out of which God's people are all commanded to come. Our rulers are seeking at this very moment to mix the church of God and the synagogue of Satan. God forbad not that the Gentiles should be in the outer court, idolaters though they were: nor forbiddeth he that the idolatrous Papists should reside in our land, and do traffic with our people; but in our present laws and oaths and bulwarks of the kingdom, he hath builded a middle wall of partition, through which they cannot pass so as to exercise any of the offices or undertake any of the charges which pertain to a Protestant kingdom worshipping and standing under Christ as its great head. This fence, most holy, most wise, most necessary (for how can an idolater be a servant in God's kingdom?), our rulers are seeking violently to raze unto the ground. And what, think you, will the issue be of such pollution, and impiety? The issue assuredly will be, that God will visit with shame the rulers, who have dared so to do; and the kingdom in which it hath been done will be sorely judged, paralyzed in the right arm of its strength, weakened, brought low, if not entirely destroyed. And if destroyed entirely it be not, it will be saved through the faithful protestation which hath been made by the church and by the common people. The nationality may survive, but surely the powers which have dared to purpose such a thing, and would not listen to the instruction of the church nor the remonstrance of the people, will be brought low. I may add, moreover, before leaving this head of improvement, that as it was from the cupidity and

ambition of the high priests Jason and Menelaus, seeking to find favour in the sight of the most wicked king of Syria, that the great evils were accumulated upon Jerusalem and the temple of God; so hath it been in a great measure by the cupidity and ambition of our bishops especially in Ireland, that this great deed of national iniquity now in progress hath been rendered, as they say, expedient. Like Jason and Menelaus, have they been playing the courtiers to the minister of state, when they should have been waiting upon the services of God in their several bishoprics; and so century after century hath the evil of the Papacy increased, until now the boldest of our statesmen are afraid to face it, and would rather surrender the palladium of the kingdom than meet the enemy in the open field of controversy. But I trust, that as, in the family of the priesthood, the temple of Jerusalem and state of Judea found their deliverers and purifiers, Judas Maccabeus and his brethren; so, if this sacrilegious deed be transacted within the kingdom, our church shall in the ministry find its faithful defenders, who will not love their lives unto the death for the preservation of the house of God. And this leadeth me to draw forth

This third and last lesson from the foregoing discourse, That persecution is God's ultimate method of preserving his church from perishing through the decay of vital godliness.—The method of God with his church is, as hath been observed above, first to deal with her graciously, and to shew her the love with which he loveth her: "He afflicteth not willingly the children of men." After

settling the church and state of Jerusalem by the hands of the Persian kings, he gave them rest, in the time of Alexander and his successors, for one or two generations. So, also, when the Christian church was first planted in Jerusalem it had comparative rest for the space of twelve years; after which the Apostles were scattered abroad, to preach the Gospel over the world: and the church after being planted amongst the Gentiles, had likewise rest for many years, before the heat of persecution arose upon it: and so also at the Reformation the Protestants had peace, and even patronage, in most parts, for a time. But in all those instances the storm of persecution came at length; and the reason, as I believe, for which it always comes, is to chastise the church for her sins and backslidings; to sift out her impurities; to purge away her diseases; and so to prolong her life and increase her activity of holiness. Anger in God is what persecution betokens; and therefore persecution is never to be desired, but deprecated, because no one should wish or pray for the anger of God to be upon him: nevertheless, though in anger originating, it ever proceedeth with mercy, unto the end of the church's purification and salvation. It is the chastisement of a Father, of the Father of the faithful; that the faithful may be partakers of his holiness. If God, then, should permit this horrible national wickedness to be transacted, and so bring his church into dishonour before the nation, by exalting to her level the synagogue of Satan; and out of this fearful act should arise affliction upon his church, whether by the sword or by famine

or by pestilence; we, who know the Lord, should look upon it as a chastisement for our sins committed in times past, and search into every unsound and diseased part of our own religious contitution, and of the congregation, and of the whole church. We should no longer become apologists for the sins and short-comings of the church. The more we love her, the more we venerate her, the more anxiously we would save her, the more ought we to know and to feel and to express all her wickedness and worthlessness in the presence of God; confessing and not cloking, spreading before the Lord and not hiding from him, all whereof we have reason to be sorry and ashamed. For assuredly this dishonour of Protestants, which our governors are seeking to perpetrate; this dishonour of the true church of God, and honour of the mother of harlots; be it followed with what consequences it may, is in itself a thing to make a Christian "tear his garment, and cast dust upon his head, and be unclean until the evening." Surely it is God's anger; and as such we ought instantly to acknowledge it with deep sorrow, contrition, and even desolation of heart. This chiefly, dear brethren, I would impress upon you.

But this is not all; for in every stroke of God which he dealeth unto his church there is mercy; yea, and love; sovereign mercy and fatherly love intermingled. He "chastiseth for our profit, that we may be partakers of his holiness." Long hath the church enjoyed peace. Never, perhaps, since there was a church, hath the church enjoyed so long a season of repose as in these islands; and never, perhaps, was it used so unprofitably. Truly

we may say, The summer is ended, the autumn is past and gone, and we are not saved. We have ill used the "refreshing time which we have received from the presence of the Lord." Church hath envied church; church hath retaliated upon church. Schisms have abounded, and no one hath sought to heal them. The poor have perished for lack of knowledge, and no one hath cared for their souls. The land hath been defiled with heresies of every name. A new spirit of liberalism, which is the contradiction of religion; of indifference to faith, which is the contrary of faithfulness; hath gone abroad. The church hath fallen into lethargy; hath permitted her people to be led astray of the deceiver. There is a rankness, an unweeded rankness, in the vineyard of this land. Above all, there is a liberality towards Papists and towards infidel Unitarians; there is a shaking of right hands between ordained ministers and God-despising politicians. Knowledge, which puffeth up, hath so over-mastered charity, which edifieth, that the time is come to sift the floor and separate the chaff from the wheat; the time is come to try men's works with fire, and to prove of what kind they be. The mixture will corrupt, unless its impurities be drawn off by strong heat. I see a needs-be for judgment upon the house of God. Boastful and braggart, they swell with thoughts and words of vanity. To convert the world, is with them a matter of money; an easy, practicable, prudent thing. Oh! but the Lord will come down upon us in his fierce anger, and he will prove the secret of every heart. "Therefore, beloved, count it all joy when ye fall into divers

temptations." If the temptations were coming upon us in darkness, I would dread destruction; but seeing they are coming upon us preceded by the warnings and interpretations of many servants of the Lord, I look for purification and salvation and length of days unto the church. I think that through the much tribulation gathering over us on every side, we shall enter into the kingdom. If men will but take knowledge of the hand of God; if ministers will but take observation of the signs of the times, and teach them to the people; then I believe that the church shall come forth like gold refined. And I do entreat as many as now hear me, to talk of these things with their own souls; to take time from urgent business, and talk of them with the word of God; to talk of them to one another by the way-side; to talk of them to your wives and your children at home; and, in short, to talk of them every where and in every place; that men may know that there is a people amongst them who know the Lord, and observe his dealings with the sons of men.

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PART II.

DISCOURSE V.

ROME AND HER TEN KINGDOMS.

DANIEL vii. 7—12.

After this I saw in the night visions, and, behold, a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth: it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it: and it was diverse from all the beasts that were before it, and it had ten horns. I considered the horns, and, behold, there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots: and, behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things. I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool; his throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire: a fiery stream issued and came forth from before him: thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the judgment was set, and the books were opened. I beheld then, because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake; I beheld, even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame. As con-

cerning the rest of the beasts, they had their dominion taken away; yet their lives were prolonged for a season and time.

EACH vision of Daniel, though it acknowledge the common general structure of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, hath yet a special and peculiar object; an object proper to itself, for the sake of which it was given; and which occupies the most prominent part, both of the vision and the interpretation of the vision. This specific object of the vision of the four beasts, to which we are now arrived, is that fourth kingdom, in the description and explanation of which one half of the whole vision is taken up: and not only so, but almost all the prophetic parts of the Apocalypse are concerned with the dealings of God by this kingdom, and its dealings by his saints. After the Lord had given to Nebuchadnezzar, and by Daniel had interpreted, the vision of the four universal monarchies, and the fifth, which should endure for ever upon the earth; he did not repeat over and over again in the three succeeding visions the same thing, but made use of that great calendar which he had already given, in order to forewarn the church of the time and place of the appearance of the three great forms of Antichrist—the Papal, the Mohammedan, and the Infidel—by which his church was to be distressed: the first, arising out of the fourth or Roman kingdom; the second, arising out of the third or Greek kingdom; and the last springing up and spreading itself over both, about the time of the end, immediately preceding the restoration of the Jews. These three, the Papal, Mohammedan, and Infidel Antichrists, are laid down, as it were, by

scale and rule, from the common chart of prophetic events given to Nebuchadnezzar. The Papal Antichrist is given in this seventh chapter; the Mohammedan Antichrist in the eighth; and the Infidel Antichrist in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth, which form but one vision. These all have their place in the Apocalypse: the first as the oppressor of the Western, the second as the oppressor of the Eastern, Roman Empire; the first of the Latin, the second of the Greek, church; and the last, arising towards the time of the end, and making war against the Lamb and those that are with him, and coming to his destruction, with the kings of the earth and the whole world, in the battle of Armageddon. It is from the last of these, which is Infidelity, that Christendom hath now so much to fear and dread. Infidelity in every form, but especially in the form of political liberality, is now seeking to root out every thing peculiarly Christian in the world. Now, because the greatest of all distinctions is the distinction between Protestant and Papist, between the Catholic church and the Papal apostasy, between Christ and Anti-Christ, therefore the spirit of infidelity is now seeking by all means to destroy and subvert this distinction: having already succeeded in destroying and subverting the distinction between churchman and schismatic, it is now seeking to destroy the distinction between Churchman and Papist; and if this be succeeded in, infidelity hath obtained the dominion. To resist this great effort of liberality, is the main work to which the church is at this time called; and, her weapons being spiritual and not carnal, the way to accomplish it

is by setting out from God's holy word what is his mind concerning the Papacy, and what is his judgment written against it; and what will be the doom, the certain doom, of all those who yield themselves up to its power, who listen to its blasphemous words, or in any other way give encouragement and countenance to its abominations. This is the only way, I take it, of turning the tide of liberality, by setting against it the bulwark of the threatenings and judgments of God. And if in this controversy we be able to prevail, the spirit of liberality will have received a check: but if not, it will triumph; and then, woe to the church which abideth in a land where liberality reigneth over the powers that be! and woe also to the powers that be, who make no difference between Christ's church and Antichrist's apostasy, between the catholic church and any schism and any heresy which may arise within its bounds! Be it so, then, that a minister of the catholic church, and a member thereof, are now at their post contending against liberality, when they shew forth the hideousness of that Papal system which liberality would amalgamate with the constitution of our Christian kingdom; I do now enter, not without great heaviness of spirit, to fulfil my part and office in this, the falling or the standing article of the kingdom.

At the seventh verse, with which our text commenceth, there is one of the great divisions of the dream, introduced by the style, "After this I saw in the night visions." As I have observed already, the dream is divided into three visions, one succeeding another, without any waking interval.

The first of these divisions includeth the three beasts, upon whose actions we have already discoursed at large; but the second is taken up with the action and the judgment of the fourth beast only, extending from the 7th to the 13th verse. There is, therefore, a unity in these six verses, which is the reason that I have joined them together as the second part of this discourse. The description of the fourth beast thus proceeds: "Behold, a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth: it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it: and it was diverse from all the beasts that were before it, and it had ten horns. I considered the horns, and, behold, there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots; and in this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things." Before proceeding to the proper subject of our discourse—which is, to identify this fourth beast with the Roman kingdom—I shall, in order to enlarge the field of your observation, identify the description here given with certain parts of the Revelation of Jesus Christ given to St. John; that you may have it in your power to know the whole substance of God's word concerning this fourth beast, and be less liable to judge from your own understanding, or to interpret prophecy by any private application.

The great points of identification are the ten horns, the little horn, and the period of its duration,—for time, times, and half a time. In the xiith chapter of the Apocalypse the beast with ten horns appears

making war upon the church, and destroying her seed. It is represented there, as being inspired by Satan. And, after contending with the woman's seed, and being overcome by their faithful martyrdom, Satan sets on foot a second system of persecution against the remnant of her seed, for the period of a time, times, and half a time, mentioned by our prophet. This second act of persecution is by means of another beast coming up out of the sea, whose actions are detailed in the xiiith chapter of the Apocalypse. This second action of Satan against the church is identified with that of the beast in Daniel under the influence of the little horn: it hath the same ten horns; it hath the same period of forty-and-two months; it hath the same mouth speaking great things and blasphemies; it hath the same powers given unto it, to make war with the saints and to overcome them; and, in short, except that there are more particulars given, it is in all respects identical with the beast of Daniel. Again; in the xviith chapter of the Apocalypse the same beast appeareth, under another form, but having still his ten horns and his determined hostility against the Lamb and his chosen ones. And in this chapter (verse 12) we have the self-same exposition of the ten horns which is given in the prophet Daniel: "The ten horns which thou sawest, are ten kings." And this is the last appearance of the ten-horned beast upon the stage of prophecy, for now he goeth into perdition. All sound judgment, therefore, and exact criticism, must concur in looking upon this beast with ten horns in the Apocalypse as being perfectly identical

with the same beast in the book of Daniel; and thus we have enlarged your field, from a few verses of Scripture, to a few chapters; that, having obtained a broader foundation to build upon, you may erect a more sure and stable fabric of truth. It may be further profitable to arrange the plentiful materials which we have obtained. This ten-horned beast, presented to us in Scripture as the symbol of the fourth kingdom, hath three distinct and diversified acts and appearances, which in Daniel are contemplated together. The middle one of these three, is the same in duration, in symbols, and in act, with that of the little horn in Daniel. One, therefore, of the appearances in the Apocalypse cometh before the act of the little horn, and another cometh after it. We have therefore this three-fold division of our materials: First, The symbolical description and actings of the ten-horned beast anterior to the time, times, and a half, during which the saints were given into the hands of the little horn: this is given in the xiith chapter of the Apocalypse. Secondly, The symbolical action and description of the beast with ten horns during that period; which is related in the xiiith chapter of the Apocalypse. And, thirdly, The symbolical description and actions of the same posterior to that period; which is related in the xviith chapter of the same book. These, as we could shew, present us the Roman kingdom under the spirit of Paganism, under the spirit of the Papacy, and under the spirit of Infidelity. The first is past, and matter of history; the second is fast departing away from supremacy, and becoming

the tool of Infidelity, or Liberalism; which is with equal strides advancing to the supremacy of the Roman kingdom. Now, no one, who looks back upon the history of the world, and especially of the church, for the last two thousand years, can be but interested in a portion of God's word which aims to shew forth the history and the mystery of that great empire which still lives, and which is about to teach the world how terrible its last struggles for the earth shall be. Some may look upon the historical as the most interesting aspect of this fourth kingdom: to me, a living man, and knowing not how long I have to live, the present aspect is the most interesting; and to those who shall live to look upon it (nor is it many years), that aspect which is to come shall be the most fearful and terrible of all. Having thus digested the materials into three heads,—the Pagan period, before the time, times, and a half began; the Papal period, during their continuance; and the Infidel period, after their close,—it would be a delightful undertaking to enter upon the study of the Roman Empire, according to this method. But this would lead us away from our proper subject, which is the exact and precise interpretation of the vision of the four beasts. Moreover, it would anticipate and interfere with our purpose of hereafter unfolding the visions of the Apocalypse in regular order. And therefore we are content with the mere statement of the parallelism, and shall make use of it only incidentally as occasion may require; and do now return from this digression, which yet will serve us in good stead, to

unfold in order Daniel's symbolical description of the fourth beast, and to identify it with the Roman kingdom.

The fourth beast is described in the 7th verse as dreadful, and terrible, and strong exceedingly; which had great iron teeth, and devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it. The only symbolical feature here given, is its teeth of iron. And what is the particular power of this symbol we learn from the mouth of God himself, in the second chapter of Daniel; where this same fourth kingdom is represented by the two legs of iron, and the feet, part of iron and part of clay; of which the interpretation (verse 40) is in these words: And the fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron; forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces and subdueth all things: and as iron breaketh all these, shall it break in pieces and bruise." It is therefore fair and just interpretation to say, that the iron teeth are given to the fourth beast to signify its unwearied power in tearing to pieces the other beasts that went before it: teeth of iron to break them in pieces, that afterwards it might stamp on them with its feet. Now, some commentators, and especially Ben Ezra, have found no small difficulty, and indeed have totally refused, to refer these characteristics to the Roman empire; which, they say, was distinguished by its exceeding lenity to the conquered nations; by its respect to their religions and laws and customs; and by a desire rather to consolidate its conquests by arts and

public works, and colonies and commerce, whereof noble monuments remain unto this day. But, with all deference to so able an interpreter as Ben Ezra, we observe, that he hath not given sufficient attention to the symbolical language, and has fallen into an over-literal interpretation of it. The meaning of the symbol, a beast for an empire, is to represent a portion of the earth organized into one system and actuated by one spirit; and the meaning of tearing that beast to pieces, is the destroying that organization, and putting out the former spirit of life by which it was actuated. Now, surely this extinction of national integrity, this destruction of political being, the Romans carried to an extent far beyond any of the other kingdoms. The transition from the Babylonian to the Medo-Persian, and from the Medo-Persian to the Greek, was only like a change in the succession, compared with that change which the Romans wrought wherever they went. They included all, they consolidated all; they colonized; they admitted to the freedom of the Roman name, wherever they went. To be a Roman, was purchased with a great price; to be born a Roman, was an infinite privilege, of which Paul frequently availed himself. Now, this complete subversion of the empires which were before it, and reduction of them into Roman provinces, is what I understand by the breaking in pieces, and stamping the residue with the feet of it. That it is to be interpreted in such a sense, and not in a sense more literal—for literally to interpret symbols is to destroy the

intention of him that useth them,—is manifest from that which is said in the 12th verse, after the judgment upon the fourth beast had been consummated; "As concerning the rest of the beasts, they had their dominion taken away; yet their lives were prolonged for a season and time." So that all which the fourth beast did to them, was to take away their dominion for a while; to make their life to be, as it were, extinguished, but not yet altogether to extinguish it: for, as the judgment proceeds upon their oppressor, they themselves, the three former beasts, do shew life again; as it is said, " prolonging of life was given unto them." Persia, accordingly, began to make its life manifest again about the time of Justinian, when Chosroes invaded the empire, and destroyed the city of Antioch: the Assyrian and Babylonian, or Euphratean power, likewise began to manifest its life, when the Turks, that had been chained upon the river Euphrates for so long a time, began to appear against the empire in the eleventh century; and now, last, the Greeks have risen into an independent being: and to these three a prolonging of life is given, beyond the life of the fourth, or the Roman, which is ready to be destroyed. Sir Isaac Newton, whose accuracy in all things is much to be admired, hath this observation: " The nations of Chaldea and Assyria are still the first beast; those of Media and Persia are still the second beast; those of Macedon, Greece, and Thrace, Asia-Minor, and Egypt, are still the third; those of Europe on this side Greece, are still the fourth :"

with the substance of which we heartily concur; and, thus believing, cannot entertain the interpretation which would understand the words before us of a literal, and not a symbolical, destruction. The words, therefore, under consideration, "Behold, a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly, and it had great iron teeth; it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it," I interpret of the Roman Empire, which did beat down the constitution and establishments of all other kingdoms; abolishing their independence, and bringing them into the most entire subjection; humbling the pride, subjecting the will, using the property, and trampling upon the power and dignity of all other states. For by this was the Roman dominion distinguished from all the rest, that it was the work of almost as many centuries as those were of years; the fruit of a thousand battles, in which millions of men were slain. It made room for itself as doth a battering ram, by continual successive blows; and it ceased not to beat and bruise all nations, so long as they continued to offer any resistance.

But if any one, not contented with this application of the words of the text, doth demand some severer scourge than the Roman levies of men and money, and some heavier oppression than the Roman legions, let him take, if he please, the Gothic kingdoms, which, coming in upon the Roman territory, and occupying the Roman settlements, and constituting Rome the capital of a spiritual dominion, did become

entitled, and have been permitted to share, an integral portion of the life and the actings of this fourth beast, being designated by the ten horns upon its head. Now, be it observed, that the Gothic nations, out of whom the ten kingdoms arose, were most of them admitted as settlers into the Empire, and did constitute a portion of it. In its weakness they arose, and wrought that havoc and destruction in all its borders of which history containeth no parallel. If the earlier Romans did erect upon their conquests those noble works of arts and civilization and laws, whereof some relics still survive, the Goths did sweep them away with the besom of destruction, or leave them in that ruined condition in which they are now beheld. Nor is it yet ended; for, seeing the nations which now exist within the bounds of the Roman Empire are destined to prove a sorer calamity to the earth than any which it hath yet experienced, in the controversy which is about to arise between the Infidel and Papal powers, we cannot consider these characters of destructiveness, in which this last empire is pourtrayed, as being already accomplished, but must regard them as reaching forward until the time of its end. To the waste of human life, and consumption of human well-being, which Rome occasioned upon the earth in its progress to universal empire, must be added that which it occasioned during what is called its low state, when it changed the Pagan for the Papal spirit; and to this, again, must be added the greater evils which it will endure in changing the Papal for the Infidel, before God

ariseth to execute upon it his judgment. For it is to be observed, that the judgment of God—or, as it is denominated in the seventh vial, "Great Babylon came in remembrance before God, to give unto her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of his wrath"—this cometh not to pass till after the great earthquake of the seventh vial, and the division of the city into three parts; which, as we shall shew in the sequel, announces the violent change of its present Papal for its future Infidel state. Now, take the whole life and actings of this fourth empire, under these its three forms, which in this vision are included in one, and you will certainly have enough to justify the features with which it is described; "dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; having great iron teeth, with which it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it." Perhaps, indeed, these three actions, of devouring, breaking in pieces, and stamping the residue with the feet, may allude to the three diversities of form and of effect with which it hath obtained its Pagan and its Papal, and shall obtain its Infidel supremacy.

But, besides these general applications of the language in the text, there is one more particular, which it chiefly concerneth us to notice; which is, the destruction of the Jewish state and nation by the hands of the Romans; who were first applied to, in the time of Judas Maccabeus, to give him help against Demetrius, the successor of Epiphanes, about one hundred and sixty years before the birth of our Lord; and in the letter proposing confederacy and alliance, as it is recorded in the viiith chapter of

the first book of Maccabees, there is every thing confirmatory both of their power and of their diversity from other kingdoms; and to which I refer you, as containing both an accurate and picturesque view of their first appearance and mighty acts upon the prophetic stage—first, their conquest of the Gauls; then, of Spain; then, of Philip and of Perseus and the Macedonians; then, of Antiochus the Great—and concluding thus: "It was told him besides, how they destroyed and brought under their dominion all other kingdoms and isles that at any time resisted them; but with their friends, and such as relied on them, they kept amity. And that they had conquered kingdoms both far and nigh; insomuch as all that heard of them were afraid of them. Also, that whom they would help to a kingdom, those reign; and whom again they would, they displace. Finally, that they were greatly exalted: yet, for all this, they none of them wore a crown, or was clothed in purple, to be magnified thereby. Moreover, they had made for themselves a senate-house, wherein three hundred and twenty men sat in council daily, consulting alway for the people, to the end they might be well ordered: and that they committed their government to one man every year, who ruled over all their country, and that all were obedient to that one, and that there was neither envy nor emulation among them." I introduce this quotation in order to shew how the generous Romans came first as allies to the sore distressed Judas and his brethren. And from the Romans they and their kings continued to receive both favour and honour, until the days of

Herod the Great, or (as we might say) the Cruel, under whom our Lord was born. In the time of Archelaus, his successor in Judea, the Romans for his mal-administration removed him from his kingdom, and banished him for his crimes: after which his principality became a Roman province governed by a procurator, as we find it at the time of our Lord's crucifixion. But now, the expectation of the Jews being intense for the appearance of that triumphant Messiah whom their prophets had taught them to expect as their deliverer from the fourth kingdom; and perceiving how, under the emperors who succeeded Tiberius, the empire was shaken to its base; being likewise led into temptation by false Messiahs, who every where set up; they were brought into a state of phrensy, and by their insurrection, and desperate valour under these impostors, whom they followed, they brought upon themselves the judgment of the Romans, in the days of Vespasian; by whose son, Titus, their city was taken and destroyed, with such circumstances of misery as the world had never seen before; of which Josephus thus writes: "Our city, of all those subjected to the Romans, was raised to the highest felicity, and was thrust down again to the lowest gulf of misery: for if the misfortunes of all, from the beginning of the world, were compared with those of the Jews, they would appear much inferior on comparison." Some thirty or forty years hereafter, in the days of Adrian, so much did they continue to molest the empire, that their city, emerging from its ruins, was again utterly destroyed, their country made desolate of its

inhabitants, and under a sore penalty was the eye of a Jew permitted to look upon Jerusalem. Thus did the Romans beat down, and tear to pieces, and trample under foot, the city and temple and land of the Jews. And when, afterwards, Julian the Apostate would, in order to falsify a Divine prediction, as he vainly thought, have rebuilt the temple, the Lord prevented it by miraculous interpositions, slaying many of the workmen: and there it stands a ruin unto this day, until He whose name is The Branch shall build it, and they shall say to him, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord."

The next characteristic of the fourth blast given in the text is, that it was "diverse from all the beasts that were before it." This I think hath respect unto its shape, which is not given by Daniel otherwise than in these words, "It was diverse from those which were before it;" and therefore we are not called to interpret particularly wherein this diversity consisted. This would properly come before us, if we were treating of its threefold aspects presented in the Apocalypse, where this, its shape, which was hidden by Daniel, is revealed at large. But any one, who reflects upon the constitution of Rome—for more than seven hundred years a republic; and after it became an empire, not hereditary, but elective; then broken into ten kingdoms, and subsisting in unity and integrity only by the spiritual supremacy of the Pope—any one who will look at Rome, in all its conditions, from first to last, must pronounce that it was diverse from all the kingdoms that were before it.

The next characteristic given of it, and the most remarkable, is, that it had "ten horns." The

horn, we have already seen, when treating of the Greek kingdom, is the symbol of a king. Alexander was the notable horn between the eyes of the rough he-goat of Grecia; after which, when it was broken, there came up four other horns, which are the four kingdoms into which the kingdom of Alexander fell asunder. And, indeed, in the interpretation given of this fourth beast, these ten horns are declared (verse 24) to be ten kings: "And the ten horns out of this beast are ten kings which shall arise: and another shall rise after them; and he shall be diverse from the first, and he shall subdue three kings." These words of interpretation do convey unto us another important piece of information—to wit, that the ten horns were not in the fourth beast from the beginning, but arise out of it afterwards: "The ten horns out of this kingdom are ten kings that shall arise." And from the sequence of the interpretation we might infer likewise, that they did not arise till after that fourth kingdom had devoured the whole earth, and trodden it down, and broken it in pieces. And to this agrees the interpretation given of them in the xviith chapter of the Apocalypse, where it is said, that "the ten horns are ten kings, which have received no kingdom as yet"—that is, which had received no kingdom in the days of John's exile to Patmos, which by the best church historians is placed under Domitian, the last of the Cæsars: and if they had not arisen then, they cannot even be supposed to have arisen until the unity of the empire was broken up, in the time of Augustulus, about the year four hundred and eighty; since which time

the western division of the Roman empire fell into those kingdoms which have continued from that time even until now. Against this, which is the plain and simple account of the matter, it is no objection to say that Daniel saw these ten horns on the beast in his vision: for, besides what hath been already said with respect to the sequence both of description and of interpretation, we have in the four heads given to the leopard an instance of the like kind. These four heads were posterior to the rise and principal action of the Greek kingdom: not until the notable horn fell did the other four come up; and yet they are represented as on the leopard from the beginning; and so likewise are the ten horns represented on the fourth beast. Daniel, having the distant future opened to him under these several empires, sees them with those figures which characterized them best, and in those actions by which they best fulfilled the purpose of God in raising them up. And because the actings of this beast in its divided state, under the blasphemous influence of that little horn, was the thing for which the vision was given to Daniel, these parts of his form and figure are placed prominently before the seer, and the unfolding of the rest is left until the time of the beloved Apostle. Yet a diligent and critical observer can discern the same threefold action in the beast of Daniel as in the beast of John, though not with the same distinctness expressed: whereof the first is, his "devouring, breaking in pieces, and stamping the residue with his feet;" which describeth the strength of Rome, its aggrandisement of territory, and its irresistible might, from

the time of the Scipios, when, having broken Carthage, it measured swords with Antiochus the Great, and ceased not thereafter, by its Pompeys and Antonies and Cæsars, until it had subjugated the world; reducing Macedon into a province one hundred and sixty years before Christ, Syria sixty-five and Egypt about thirty years before Christ; Gaul, and Britain, and Spain, and Noricum, and Pannonia, following rapidly in the same train of conquests. This I conceive to be the action described in these words, "It shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces." In this its first state of grandeur and of glory, mistress of the world, old Rome stood, bravely sustaining herself against the hordes of hungry barbarians who thundered around her borders: and aye, as the shield of her defence fell from the arm of one and another of her military emperors, others were raised up—Vespasian, and Titus, and Nerva, and Trajan, and Constantine, and the apostate Julian, and Belisarius—who, seizing the sword and shield of Roman might, once more did battle as the champion of her supremacy. But from the time of Belisarius, that last of the mighty men of Rome, it began to assume its second state, of divided greatness; broken into its ten kingdoms; under one nominal emperor, yet virtually and actively bound together by the supremacy of that little horn, to whose blasphemous words the beast listened, and for listening was eventually judged. This, the second condition of the fourth beast, is described in these words: "It had ten horns. I considered the horns, and, behold, there came up among them

another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots: and, behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things." And for the third period it is that of its judgment. So that, in truth, we have in Daniel the same threefold condition of the fourth kingdom as in the Apocalypse, though less distinctly marked.

Let us now proceed to the identification of the ten horns and of the little horn; for these are the characteristic features of the symbol. To the right settlement of every disputed question, the direct road is, by laying down distinctly the conditions of the question which is to be resolved. Now, the conditions of the question, Which be the ten horns? are, as it seemeth to me, these four. First, that they should grow out of the Roman kingdom, and together include all the territory of that Roman kingdom which "stamped the residue of the kingdoms with the feet of it." Not all the territory of the whole Roman empire, but all that territory which is distinct from "the residue," or the other beasts, which it trode under foot: for this fourth beast is represented as rising from his lair, and going forth to destroy the Greek kingdom, and the residue of the other kingdoms. There is a distinctness given to the Roman kingdom in itself from those other prophetic kingdoms which have been mentioned, and in the head of this distinct beast it is that the ten horns stand out. Now that which the Roman kingdom joined to the territory heretofore occupied by the other kingdoms, is exactly what of Europe within the Rhine and the Danube lies to the west of Greece and

Thrace, or to the west of Turkey in Europe; namely, Italy, Austria, France, the Peninsula, and Great Britain. This integrant part of the earth, and no more, was what the Romans brought with them, and joined to the prophetic earth which Greece, Persia, and Babylon had respectively enlarged with their several additions. This part of the earth, which indeed was the only part that fell into division—for the eastern part of the empire remained solid for many centuries after—we are therefore to find subdivided into ten parts, and these ten parts are the ten horns of the beast.—Now the second condition is, that the ten horns must be kings; crowned kings; distinct, independent kingdoms; for it is so expressed in the interpretation, and these horns are also represented with crowns upon them in the xiiith chapter of the Apocalypse. And here it may be as well to observe, that in the xiith chapter of the Apocalypse there are no crowns upon the horns, but upon the head of the beast; whereas in the xiiith blasphemy is written upon its seven heads, or seven hills, and crowns are planted on its horns;—which enables us to define this second condition more exactly; shewing us, that not till after Augustulus, in 487, when the heads ceased to be crowned, should any of those ten kingdoms be found in being; for the crowns cannot be upon the heads and upon the horns at one and the same time. Therefore our second condition is, that they must be crowned kings, not in being, anterior to the time of Augustulus, the last of the crowned emperors in Rome.—The third condition is, that they should be obedient to the little horn,

"whose look was more stout than his fellows:" that they should give ear to his blasphemies, and take part in his wickedness. For it is on this account that they are judged: (verse 11) "I beheld then, because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake; I beheld, even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed and given to the burning flame." In each of them, therefore, we must find such an acquiescence in, and subservience to, the words of that little horn, as will justify judgment coming upon them on that account. Acquiescence in, and subservience to, the little horn (which we shall prove beyond a doubt to be the Pope), is therefore the third condition by which the question of the ten horns is to be resolved.—And the fourth and last condition, and beyond a doubt the most distinct of all, is derived from the xvith chapter of the Apocalypse, and is, that these ten horns, or kingdoms, are in existence until the very end; when the beast, who had heretofore been the servant of the Papacy, becomes its greatest enemy, hates the whore, and burns her flesh with fire; but till this time the ten horns are said to give their power unto the beast. They must, therefore, be in existence now, at this day; for till now the Roman empire hath not risen up against the Papacy, and certainly has not destroyed it. Moreover, they are to serve the beast under this anti-papal or infidel form; and they are to go forth with him, and make war with the Lamb, and so to meet their destruction; which certainly hath not happened as yet. These four conditions—first, the territorial limits which they together compose; secondly, their rising into the dignity of kingdoms some time after Augustulus,

the last of the emperors; thirdly, their submissiveness to the words of the Pope; fourthly, their present existence in their several estates—These four conditions I place in your hands, as being totally independent of every theory, being derived from what is contained in this vision and the visions of John, that with them you may be able to try the many contending theories that have been given, and that also which I am about to propose.

It hath been an object of great request with learned men to ascertain the identity of these ten horns, or powers, which are represented as crowned during the second period of the beast (Rev. xiii); and it hath been ascertained, from the best records of antiquity, that there were ten kingdoms formed by the ten Gothic nations who subverted the Roman empire. These, as given by Machiavel, are, first, the Ostrogoths, in Mœsia; second, the Visigoths, in Pannonia; third, the Sueves and Alains, in Gascoigne and Spain; fourth, the Vandals, in Africa; fifth, the Franks, in France; sixth, the Burgundians, in Burgundy; seventh, the Heruli and Turingi, in Italy; eighth, the Saxons and Angles, in Britain; ninth, the Huns, in Hungary; tenth, the Lombards, at first upon the Danube, afterwards in Italy. By Sir Isaac Newton these ten primitive kingdoms have been somewhat differently enumerated, as follows: first, the kingdom of the Vandals and Alains, in Spain and Africa, which continued till 454, when they became subject to the Huns, and at length were conquered by the Ostrogoths; second, the kingdom of the Suevians, in Spain, subdued by the Visigoths in 585; third, the kingdom

of the Visigoths, continuing in Spain unto this day; fourth, the kingdom of the Alains, in Gaul, merging in the kingdom of the Franks in the year 511; fifth, the kingdom of the Burgundians, also sometimes merging into the kingdom of the Franks, sometimes separated from it, until, about 300 years after Charlemagne, it was broken into parts and ceased from being a kingdom; sixth, the kingdom of the Franks, continuing until this day; seventh, the kingdom of the Britons, taken possession of by the Saxons and Angles; eighth, the kingdom of the Huns, in Hungary; ninth, the kingdom of the Lombards, in Lombardy, where they reigned till the year 774; tenth, the kingdom of Ravenna. After the enumeration of which Sir Isaac Newton hath this remark: "I have now enumerated the ten kingdoms into which the Western Empire became divided at its first breaking, that is, at the time of Rome's being besieged and taken by the Goths. Some of these kingdoms at length fell, and new ones arose; but, whatever was their number afterwards, they are still called the ten kings, from their first number."

I have quoted these two enumerations of the ten horns, as being those which have been given by two so great and famous names; although neither of them seem to me to meet and satisfy the conditions of the question. For, in the first place, several of them were extinct as kingdoms before the time when they should become kingdoms according to the conditions of the prophecy. They should not become kingdoms till the crowns passed from the heads of the beast unto its horns; which we shall shew in the sequel took not place

till the year 532: then it was (and no commentator of any name makes it earlier), that the great dragon of the xiith chapter of the Apocalypse changed his form for the beast from the sea, and then it was that the horns became crowned. Now the race of emperors ceased not till the time of Augustulus, in the year 487; and, therefore, it would be inconsistent with the constitution of the prophecy that we should look to an earlier time than this. Secondly: It is not the transient tossings of restless nations to which the prophecy hath respect, but to the constitution of settled kingdoms, which acted in concert with, or rather in obedience to, the little horn, during all the period of its blasphemy and oppression; which, with these commentators, and upon indubitable grounds, we consider to be no less a period than twelve hundred and sixty years. This will appear the more conclusive, when these very horns shall be shewn to be in existence during the infidel period of the beast, "when he ariseth to make war with the Lamb" (Rev. xvii. 12—14). These being the conditions of the question, we ought to look for the ten kingdoms which grew out of the Roman empire in the West, after it had been broken up by these ten Gothic nations. I say in the West, because none of them settled in the Eastern empire, which was destined to become the prey of another race, to wit, the Saracens and the Ottomans. Nevertheless, while I thus reject their enumerations of the ten kingdoms, it is very satisfactory to find them agreeing in the number of those nations, especially as that of Machiaveli had no eye to prophetic interpretation. On the same accounts I

reject the enumerations given by Joseph Mede and by Bishop Lloyd. Bishop Newton hath proceeded with more sagacity, by inquiring how they stood in the eighth century; at which time, certainly, the second form of the beast was in active operation; and this is the result of his inquiry: The government, first, of the senate of Rome, who revolted from the Greek emperors, and claimed and exerted the privilege of choosing a new Western emperor; second, of the Greeks, in Ravenna; third, of the Lombards, in Lombardy; fourth, of the Huns, in Hungary; fifth, of the Alemanes, in Germany; sixth, of the Franks, in France; seventh, of the Burgundians, in Burgundy; eighth, of the Goths, in Spain; ninth, of the Britons; tenth, of the Saxons, in Britain. Of these ten, we shall find how the first three were speedily swallowed up by the little horn which arose, which sufficiently determines their identity; and, therefore, of these little need be said, until we come to that part of our subject. Of the other seven, these four only have retained the durability necessary to the conditions of the question: to wit, first, the kingdom of the Britons and Saxons, in Britain; secondly, of the Franks, in France; thirdly, of the Goths, in Spain; and, fourthly, of the German emperors, which, falling into the house of Austria, hath taken up into itself that of the Huns. These four, then —Britain, France, Austria, and Spain—meet the conditions of the question, laid down above. The remaining three—to wit, the Huns, the Burgundians, and the Britons separate from Britain in general—cannot be admitted. It remains, therefore, that we seek out three kingdoms within the

bounds of the empire which may take the place of these, and satisfy the conditions. And first I place the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, which, beginning in the eleventh century, hath occupied until our time one of the most important parts of the empire. Next to this I place the kingdom of Portugal, which arose about the same time with the former, and, like it, hath kept its place as a kingdom until this day, in spite of all the powerful efforts of Spain to subvert it. Now, taking these nine—to wit, Rome, Ravenna, Lombardy (which three were really to disappear in the temporal power of the little horn), Austria, France, Britain, Spain, Portugal, and Naples—you have all the territory of the Western Roman empire, except that which lies between France and the States of the Church; and here it is that we must look for the only remaining one of the ten horns. Of the states which occupied this, the remainder of the Western empire, there are four of chief importance: First, the kingdom of Savoy, Piedmont, and Sardinia, which, taking its origin in the year 750, in the counts of Savoy, began to make its appearance amongst the Papal states; from which time it hath continued one of the most faithful and zealous servants of the Pope, or horns of the beast, and now again occupies a conspicuous place amongst the European states. The second of the four which might claim this bad pre-eminence, is Venice, which, arising in a very remote antiquity, and constituting itself under its doge, or duke, in 709, arose into great importance as a maritime state during the middle ages, and acquired territories, but chiefly upon the farther side of the

Adriatic; for upon the continent of Italy it had comparatively little territory: and it is to be observed, that, instead of being a willing servant of the Pope, it was generally found resisting his encroachments, affording a shelter to the objects of his persecution, and rather profiting from, than helping in, that great master-piece of his policy, the Crusades; and now, being wholly swallowed up by Austria, it will no longer fulfil the fourth condition of the question. The third is, the grand duchy of Tuscany, which, arising in the twelfth century, along with the other confederate republics, became famous under the Medici, chiefly by arts and commerce, and petty conquests round about, but in the earlier part of the last century passed into the Austrian family, and became the inheritance of the younger brothers of the imperial house, as it now continues; and therefore, being, as it were, but an adjunct of Austria, and having done nothing of any name for the service of the Pope, cannot on these grounds be taken. The tenth kingdom is therefore the kingdom of Savoy, Piedmont, and Sardinia, who served the Pope in more than one crusade; who also obtained the titles of Protector of the Holy See, and Defender of the Church; and, in a degree second perhaps only to France, laboured in the suppression of the persecuted Christians of the middle ages, at the Reformation, and since the Reformation; and, above all, was in existence as a crowned horn during the most active period of the Papacy and at the conclusion of that period, and at this present time: so fulfilling all the conditions of the question, which are fulfilled neither

by Venice nor by Florence, since they have become, as it were, but territorial divisions of Austria, and neither of them have ever possessed the state and dignity of kings.

Thus, then, upon firm and fixed principles, have we endeavoured to ascertain the seven horns which were left upon the head of the beast after the little horn had swallowed up three, concerning the identity of which we are hereafter to examine, when we come to speak of that action. These seven are, Britain, France, Austria, Spain, Portugal, Naples with Sicily, Piedmont with Savoy and Sardinia; which seven, together with the States of the Church, cover all the territory of the Western Roman Empire; that is, all which was not afterwards overrun by the Saracens and Turks. These seven kingdoms, together with the three which the Pope arrogated to himself, served the Pope in all his crusades, against the Saracens, against the Albigenses and Waldenses, and against the Reformation—excepting, indeed, from this last act of wickedness Great Britain, concerning whose special preservation and redemption from the enormity of suppressing the Reformation we shall have occasion to speak in another part of this great subject. On all these accounts, but especially on account of the exact territorial division among them of the Western Empire, or the Roman Empire proper, and on account of their present standing forth as kingdoms from the wreck of the last thirty years' convulsion, we consider it as an ascertained point, that these—Great Britain, France, Austria, Spain, Portugal, Sardinia, Naples, Lombardy, Ravenna, and Rome—are

the powers signified by the ten horns of the beast; the last three having long since disappeared as horns, being brought under the little horn, and now standing under the temporal power of the Pope as "the States of the Church." We cannot help remarking in this place, how much the deliberations of the congress of Vienna, which swallowed up the minor states of Papal Europe, hath simplified the question; of which it is a standing condition, that when the Infidel power shall arise again, these kingdoms shall be in separate and independent existence to grant him their power, in order to destroy the Whore of Babylon, and also in order to make war with the Lamb.

We should now proceed to identify the symbol of the little horn, by the like method of first laying down the conditions of the question independent of all theory or hypothesis, as derived from the word of the prophecy; and then presenting in the Papacy that only solution which will meet these conditions; and this we will do in our next discourse, if God permit. Meanwhile we will conclude with those lessons—profitable in all times, but most profitable in these; profitable to all men, but most profitable to the rulers and the subjects of this great kingdom—which are to be derived from what hath been said. And, seeing our subject has this night brought before us the rise of Rome to the supremacy of the world, and her decline from thence into the arms of a base and wicked superstition, we have surely materials for much reflection and much improvement.

1. In looking back upon the rise of Rome, from the

narrow bound of a small town built by a company of outlaws, to the stature of the mother of nations and mistress of the world, we consider within ourselves, why God should grant such a race of glory and renown to this people; and at once we perceive, that it was due to their piety towards God and towards man. It appeareth beyond a question, that, if the Assyrians were famous for their chivalry, and the Persians for their patient hardihood, and the Greeks for their subtile and profound and sublime genius, the Romans were above all ancient and heathen people famous for three of the highest and noblest principles of human nature,—piety to the gods, honour and reverence to their parents, and faithfulness to all their obligations. The selfish principle was bound in bonds of religion, piety, and faithfulness. Where are such examples to be found of unswerving rectitude, of unsullied truth, of artless guile, as in ancient Rome? There is Cincinnatus three times Dictator, and as oft retiring to his rustic cottage and hard fare. This age and the last have rung with the disinterestedness of a Washington: such things were natural and uncommended acts amongst the old Romans. Look at Curtius devoting his life for his country, when he thought the gods required a life. Look at Brutus the elder, who set a father's heart at nought when his country's injury was to be avenged. Look at Regulus, esteeming home and country, wife and children, nought, when the sacredness of his given word was in question. See Coriolanus forgetting injuries, revenge, pride, and all renown, at his mother's venerable command. See Virginius strike his daughter's heart, rather

than she should be dishonoured and disgraced. See the Roman daughter nourishing her father, condemned to famine, with the milk of her breast. See that senate sitting in the forum, each one adorned with the honours of virtue, experience, and age, disdaining to flee from the sword of the barbarians when their city was taken. Oh, methinks I see that senate of the Roman people spreading forth its wings to shelter the oppressed! Methinks I see its legates footing it, in primitive simplicity, to emperors, and telling them not to meddle with an ally of the Roman people! There is not, perhaps, so sublime a thing upon record, as when two such footmen, Legates of the Roman Senate and People, met Antiochus Epiphanes, who had trodden upon the city and altar of God, on his third or fourth invasion of Egypt. Coming at the head of his victorious army from Memphis to Alexandria, these ambassadors of Rome met him; and one of them, unabashed before the triumphant conquerer and arbitrary king, with his staff swept a circle about him on the sand, and required of him to declare, before he crossed that ring, whether he would withdraw from Egypt the ally of the Roman people, or whether he would not; and the emperor of the East was cowed by the force of a Roman citizen. When I think of the Scipii and the Gracchi and the Sempronii, and the other famous names of old Rome, I seem to see the constellation of the natural man, his virtue, his might, his grandeur, his glory. And when to this I add their humility, piety, and reverence of the superior powers of Heaven, albeit ill apprehended, being ill taught, I

am not amazed that God should use such a people, such an uncrumbling people, such an iron people, ductile as well as hard, for the chastisement of the faithless Greeks, when by their sophistry they had corrupted the truth, by their ambition sacrificed every principle, and in their sensuality drowned all the grace and nobility with which nature had endowed them. These were, as I believe, the causes for which God promoted the Romans to the highest dignity and widest empire. But when the severe, simple, and devout virtues of the fathers began to pass away into the imitation of the Carthaginian treachery and the Greek perfidy and the Eastern luxury, then Rome ceased to advance: and though she long stood her ground against the shepherds of the North and East, she fell at length; not, as they say, through her greatness of size, but her poverty of soul, her pusillanimity, her want of virtue and of vigour. What a lesson is this to us, whom God hath likewise highly exalted for our faithfulness—not indeed to the religion of nature, but to a higher code, the religion of our Lord Jesus Christ! Look back into the history of this island, and observe the character of our fathers. What protestations against the encroachments of the pope, ever since he sent Augustine and his monks to our shore! See the Bishops of Wales refusing to acknowledge the Pope, and Augustine his creature: see the Culdees of Scotland sending forth their Presbyters, and their presbyter-ordained Bishops: and, even under the Papal dominion, see England sending forth her missionaries to the Germans, to the Hamburghers, to

the Norwegians and Swedes: see the testimony of Grossetête and Bradwardine, of Wickliffe and the Lollards, amongst the people; of our kings, and our barons, and our church also; against the encroachments of the see of Rome; until the Reformation, when the two nations, ever separate, joined together in one Protestant defiance of the Papacy: and witness the indifference to life, in the cause of religion and of law, which afterwards characterized this people; and you will perceive amongst us, in revealed religion, somewhat of the same heroic firmness and devotedness to God which marked the Romans in natural religion. For these acts of loyal protestation against the mother of abominations, I believe, this island hath attained to its present elevation and grandeur amongst the nations.

But, behold what a reverse is now presented to us! We laugh at the actions of our fathers, calling them narrow-minded bigots! We laugh at the wide difference between the true faith of the church and the falsehoods of the apostasy; we set at nought consistency; we despise the sanction of an oath! That which we had yesterday sworn to be superstition and idolatry, we this day boast that it is neither! The voice of the people, which heretofore we cried up as the voice of God, we do now decry, as unworthy to be heeded. It is but yesterday, when the common people were said to be trampling upon the heels of the learned and higher orders; to-day, they are spoken of as a mob. On every side there is no constancy, there is no consistency. In the high places of the church, in the high places

of the nation, all, all is yielded to intimidation and expediency. Can I, a teacher of morals; can I, a teacher of God's providence over kingdoms, see such a revolution in the character of the rulers of this nation, and not declare that it portends a fearful downfall? Ah me! can I, a man knowing myself what foes are within my own breast, awaiting any departure from the ways of faith and holiness, what disesteem of self, what recklessness of consequence, what hidings of the countenance of God, what wickedness come on apace; can any of you, who have known the inward hardening of heart, the outward judgment of Heaven, which attends upon a wicked course; doubt that God will judge a nation, which, in defiance of a thousand solemn oaths, interdicts, and constitutions, framed on purpose to prevent fellowship with the apostasy, doth yet, by the deliberate act of hundreds of men sworn to resist the Papacy, admit the Papacy which they have bound themselves to withstand; breaking faith with God, who is a party to every oath; breaking faith with those who elected them to maintain the Christian and Protestant integrity of the kingdom; and, in one word, glorying to do that which a heathen Roman went into voluntary captivity and horrible torture rather than do? The bow of this nation will be broken: I know not how, but the bow of this nation will be broken, if thus we depart from serving the living and true God. O conscience! O faith! O wisdom! O sincerity and truth! whither are ye departed from this land, where ye once made your habitation! If ever, O Father Almighty, thou heardest the prayers of a peaceable and loyal people, hear them now;

and suffer us not as a nation to break in upon that righteous constitution of government and religion which thou gavest to our fathers, and under which we have lived in peace and quiet these many generations, all unworthy as we are of thy mercies!

2. Next to this lesson, of the righteousness which exalteth a nation, and of the wickedness which is the disgrace of any people, we observe, secondly, the dealings of Rome by the Christian religion, when it came to be presented unto it and planted in the midst of it. God honoured the Roman empire, to make it the resting place of that universal doctrine which, though presented to all the nations of the earth, was rejected by most of them. To the extent of the prophetic earth, as we have seen it more and more enlarged by these four successive monarchies, did the Christian religion go, and hardly any further. The Jews, scattered abroad as we have shewn in our former discourse, became the bearers of the Gospel into all regions of the prophetic earth, and even beyond the bounds thereof, into Tartary, and India, and Ethiopia. But their own nation, rising up against it, were the first to stumble upon that Foundation Stone: they stumbled, and were broken, and have ever since continued a fallen and a broken people. The Greeks, of a subtle, inquisitive, unsettled, and unprincipled nature, soon corrupted the truth with a thousand sophistical heresies, and proved like the second kind of soil in the parable, which had not depth of earth to retain the seed, and preserve it against the scorching sun of worldly pleasure and the barren rock of the natural understanding. But the Romans presenting a better

soil, the seed took root downward, and sprang up, and came to maturity; but was afterwards choaked with cares of this life, weeds, and thorns, and briers, and tares, which they planted in the midst of it. And if I were to look for a region upon the earth which representeth the fourth soil, where should I find it so well as in the "honest heart" of this island, which since the Reformation has brought forth a great harvest of souls, and I trust will be found still possessing many when Christ shall come as the harvest-man? However this may be, the thing is certain that the Gospel took chief root within the Roman Empire; and its cause was pleaded by Paul, and many of the most distinguished of the fathers, in the presence of the emperor himself. But about this time Satan had entered into the hearts of the Roman emperors, to move them to require of their people to worship them as gods; to which the Christians would never consent: and so there was a continual contradiction between the empire and the church, between the emperor and the Christians. Moreover, Satan had taken advantage of the religiousness and honesty of the old Romans, to make them feel indulgent towards conquered nations; with whose religions they intermeddled not, but courteously received their gods into the Pantheon of Rome. The honest-hearted and somewhat stupid people thought that religion was so holy a thing they ought not to intermeddle with it. And I blame them not herein, considering their ignorance; but do regard this extreme of honest liberality as much more to be commended than that which Antiochus Epiphanes and the fourth Ptolemy adopted, of requiring every people to

adopt their own gods. But, now, observe how both extremes, the extreme of despotical intolerance, and the extreme of undiscriminating liberality, bring the same fatal consequences upon the head of poor, simple, single-eyed, one-creeded believers in the living and true God. Antiochus, by his religious despotism, brought the Jews to the very verge of perdition. But for Maccabeus, and the very few whom God strengthened to resist, the life of the nation had sunk beneath the stream: for others could change their gods, even the Samaritans; but not so Israel, whose word hath ever been, and still is, that first of all commandments, "Hear, O Israel; the Lord thy God is one Lord." Now observe how with equal contradiction and persecution did the other extreme, of Roman liberality, bear upon the uncompromising Christians. It was impossible for the Christian to adopt that liberality which was the genius of the Roman government. The idol temples he could not frequent; the idol feasts at the temple he could not partake in; the victims offered in sacrifice he could not, as such, purchase or use. Nay, more; he could not be silent when witnessing the idolatry of the people: he must preach against image worship; he must preach against false gods; he must preach against the immoralities of the heathen worship; he must preach against the hope of justification through works, against works of supererogation, superstition, fanaticism. A morality flowing from the fountain of a pure heart, he must insist on; a religion consisting in love to God, a faith standing in the knowledge of Jesus Christ. The Christian cannot, he dares not,

say that the sincere of all religions are acceptable with God. A Christian cannot, he dares not, say that the sincere of any religion but the religion of Christ, are acceptable with God. He must regard Jupiter, and Apis, and Bel, and Nebo, with the Sun and Fire his symbol, and Bramah, and Boodh, and Mohammed, and Moses when preferred to Christ, and the Pope when made vicar of Christ or otherwise exalted than as I am,—all such, I say, the Christian must regard as thieves and robbers, and enemies of God; as usurpers of the honour of Christ, as inventions and impostures of the devil. The Christian must not be silent and see men's souls brought into perdition; he must not lock his truth, like a heathen mystery, in the inmost darkest recess of his temple: he must preach it upon the house-tops; he must cry it aloud in the corners of the streets; he must dispute for it in the schools, and he must plead for it before the tribunals. He cannot leave the man alone who is dying eternally, and for whose eternal disease he hath an eternal remedy: he must tell him of Christ, the propitiation of the world; he must preach Jesus, the Saviour of all men—not for fear of his own salvation, though that is at stake; not for the honour of God and of Christ, though that also is at stake; but for the love he beareth to a brother; for the love of a soul, which he knows can only be saved through the knowledge of Christ. For philanthropy, for God's glory, for the acquittal of his own conscience, a Christian must speak to every one who nameth another name for hope and salvation, than the name of Jesus, to all who will not name the name

of Jesus for hope and salvation. Here is the eternal contradiction between liberalism and religion; and likewise between the juggling and jesuistry of the Papacy, and the straight-forward, single-minded, one-eyed, unflinching, uncompromising spirit of Protestantism. Old Rome was that liberal thing which Britain is now straining every nerve to become; Pagan Rome, by natural process of ignorance and honesty and respect for religion in all men, was that all-indulgent, paternal, patronal encourager of all religions which the Dissenters and the Liberals, and most of the Evangelicals, both bishops and presbyters, wish Protestant Britain—Britain sworn upon the Gospels, Britain bound to God by ties innumerable—to become, by breaking those covenants and old obligations, and casting them to the winds, in order to win Papists, and nurse Infidels, and break the hearts of faithful uncompromising Protestants. I say, ye politicians, ye economists, ye doctors, ye bishops, see in old Rome that political union of all religions which ye so much affect, and tell me how it wrought. How went it with the church? Were not her saints chopped as a man choppeth straw; and as the wine press is red with the blood of grapes, were not the amphitheatres and the market-places red with the blood of her saints? Seek ye this for the church? No; ye have not knowledge nor understanding to foresee such an issue, for your foolish hearts are darkened. Ye dream of peace! ye dream of love between the Wolf and the Lamb! Well, what say you? fared it so with the church under

liberal Rome; when she had a Bible as good as yours, and preachers as mighty in word and deed as yours? But she had not arts and compromises, and so her Bible and her preaching turned to her persecution and martyrdom. If indeed ye seek martyrdom, tell it out. If ye be prepared for martyrdom, say so. If through fire and blood ye expect the propagation of our religion under a government of liberals, say so; and I will not disagree with you. But I have too much reason, and too much knowledge of church history, and too much tact and experience of what a liberal is, to believe that a Christian can stand against a government of liberals, otherwise than as the rooted oak stands in the midst of the whirlwind. But oaks do not grow in the wirlwind; yea, and rooted oaks are uprooted by the whirlwind, or else they are twisted into various unlovely forms. But, further: ye advocates of a liberal government over a faithful Protestant church, tell me how it fared with that liberal Rome? Was God pleased because she loved and treated all religions alike? was God pleased because she persecuted Christ and Christians while she encouraged every false god? did God bless her therefore with days of virtue and peace at home, and crown her with glory abroad? Let the history of the seven emperors who succeeded Tiberius testify, whose huge wickedness the world cannot match—I except Vespasian and Titus, under whom God rallied the empire, that it might be his battle-axe to hew Jerusalem in pieces. What though again it revived

under Nerva, Trajan, and the Antonines, it was only to gather strength enough to endure a century and a half of miserable suffering, of ignominious misgovernment, until the time of Constantine: when it again rallied; and again under Theodosius; until at length in Justinian's time it fell to pieces into the ten kingdoms which we have identified in this discourse, and came under the base supremacy of a priest, whom we are to identify in our next. Here were five centuries of disease, of suffering; civil wars within, invasions from without; brutal, beastly emperors; rapacious governors; military supremacy; and every thing else which can make a people wretched. So fared it with the Roman government, with the Liberal government of Rome, when she took her stand upon the "broad basis" of all religions, against the "sectarian basis," as they call it, of one religion only. Produce your cause, ye liberals; bring forth your strong reasons: is this what you want old England and unconquered Scotland to become? Ye men of light! ye heads of intellect, who have outstripped your fathers as much as they were thought to have outstripped other men! ye bishops above the mark of Latimer and Ridley and Hooper! ye prebyters above the pitch of Knox and Hamilton and Wishart and Guthrie! let me ask you, if a government perfectly liberal to all religions, and equally indifferent to any, be not in truth in the very condition of old Rome; and if the church that endureth no religion but one, be not the same as she ever hath been? How, then, shall not the same effects flow out, both to the one and to the other,—to the

state, expulsion from the favour of God, whose Christ it hath ceased to prefer; to the church, expatriation from the favour of the state, whose liberal policy she must ever disturb, whose system of indifference to Christ she must ever agitate, whose apostasy she must ever condemn, whose atheism she must ever contradict, whose infidelity she must ever denounce? But will God stand such contempt? will he brook it? will he let it go unnoticed? will he let it pass unpunished? Herein we differ from ancient Rome, and have the worse of the case: their liberality grew out of their religion; ours is a departure from our religion. As we are Protestants, we contradict the Papists, and pronounce unto them, 'No! your religion is false, is an apostasy.' As Christians, we contradict the Unitarians, and say, 'No! you are not Christians; you are Infidels.' To adopt these into the bosom of a baptized state, is to break vows and obligations; is to go against God, against religion, against conscience; and the state that doth so, God will assuredly judge. He will not stand by, and leave the experiment to work itself out. He will not refuse the prayers of his people. He will not indulge the grand falsehood of our liberals, that government hath nothing to do with religion. He will not let baptized men in high places act as if they were not baptized into covenant with Christ. He will shew himself: how, I know not; but that he will make his arm bare, believing, I do fear and tremble.

3. But it is not left for us to speculate what may be the dealings of God with a nation which shall incur such guilt as we are verging to,

seeing we have the same taught us in the example of the Jewish nation, whose rejection of Christ, and consequent destruction, hath in this discourse been brought under your consideration. They were brought out of Babylon about five hundred years before the coming of Christ: we have been brought out of Babylon now these three hundred years. They, after rebuilding the temple and reconstituting the altar, had much to endure from the kings of Syria and of Egypt; and we also, since our reconstitution of the church, have had much to endure, from conspiracies at home and from confederacies abroad. They, being kept on purpose, to have all things in order when Christ should come, and to testify of his coming unto all nations, did reject him when he came; and for their rejection of him were broken in pieces. We have been brought out of Babylon, and preserved against all who would have subverted our church, in order to lift up a national testimony for the truth as it is in Jesus, against the national testimony of other kingdoms for the falsehood as it is in the Papacy: set also, as I believe are we, for the expectation of the triumphal advent and kingdom of our Lord, whose coming to consume the man of sin hath now for many years been loudly proclaimed in the midst of us. But, behold, we are upon the eve of disappointing, and defeating, if we could, that purpose for which God separated and set us up; we are hand-fasting it with apostasy; we are becoming confederate with the idolaters; we are joining ourselves to the Antichristian family, to destroy

whom Christ's coming, Christ's instant coming, hath been for many years preached among us. They rejected Christ's first coming for traditions of the elders founded upon Moses: we are rejecting his second coming for traditions of the Papacy, which have also a kind of foundation in truth. Very similar, yea, exactly parallel, are the cases of Judea and Britain; insomuch, that in the Apocalypse Britain is set forth by the symbol of the twelve tribes of Israel. And, like as when the Jews had committed their wickedness they went on like drunken men, raging, towards destruction; so I believe shall we, when we have committed ours. And methinks I discern in the levity and laughter, in the jollity and joy, with which this our apostasy is proceeding, the beginning of that infatuation which will go heedlessly and recklessly on to utter ruin, if God prevent not; which, with all truly enlightened and faithful men, I most devoutly pray.

One parting advice I give you, my Christian brethren. While it is right and dutiful, both before God and man, for every free-born subject of the kingdom to care for, and earnestly ensue, the welfare of the kingdom, I do greatly fear lest the agitation of men's minds should be taken advantage of by Satan to drive them into acts of disturbance and misrule. And therefore I cannot close my discourse without entreating and charging you all before God, that you be in obedience and subjection; that you reverence the powers that be, however much you may disapprove the measure now contemplated; that, when you have

done your duty, by solemn petition and protestation, you should leave the issue to God, taking refuge in the fastnesses of your faith. Be not, I pray you, deluded by any false doctrine concerning loyalty and allegiance: they are not to be shaken in a Christian's mind: he must be subject, to the world's widest verge. From all tumultuous assemblies, from all secret confederacies, from all violent declamations, keep yourselves apart: and live as men, who, while you are zealous for the welfare of your king, your native country, and your mother church, loyal patriotic and religious, do yet both know and feel that here you have no continuing city, but look for one whose builder and maker is God; that your citizenship is in heaven, whence you look for the Saviour, where also is your inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away, ready to be revealed in the last times.

DISCOURSE VI.

ROME, WITH THE POPE HER LITTLE HORN.

DANIEL vii. 8, 20, 21, 24, 25.

I considered the horns, and, behold, there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots: and, behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things.....And of the ten horns that were in his head, and of the other which came up, and before whom three fell; even of that horn that had eyes, and a mouth that spake very great things, whose look was more stout than his fellows. I beheld, and the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them.....And the ten horns out of this kingdom are ten kings that shall arise: and another shall arise after them; and he shall be diverse from the first, and he shall subdue three kings. And he shall speak great words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High, and think to change times and laws: and they shall be given into his hand, until a time and times and the dividing of time.

DURING the ages of her oppression under the four Gentile monarchies, the church still maintained the assured hope of being, after their times were concluded, admitted to the possession of the power. They anticipated this great redemption at the time of Messiah's former coming; and it was the

last question which the Apostles put to the risen Saviour, if he would at that time "restore the kingdom to Israel." This being the expectation of the church, it was most necessary, until the time of her redemption should come, that she should be placed under obedience to the powers that be by the most strict and positive commands; because, if she should attempt to take power into her own hands, the ordinance of God would be broken: for this power was to be given unto her by Messiah her Prince at the time of his coming; and the desire to receive it, and to possess it, was one great means of preserving the hope of his coming. The church, therefore, was put under the authority of the magistrate, and commanded to obey him for conscience sake. This fundamental principle of the Gospel, is likewise derived to the church from the subjection of Christ; which again was derived from the subjection of the Jewish nation. The Jewish nation, by the word of Daniel and all the Prophets, had been put under subjection to the four great tyrannies; and were to remain so till Christ should come "in the clouds of heaven." Jesus, as being a Jew according to the flesh, came under the same subjection; and we, as the followers of Christ, continue under it. So that the church hath had a continuity of subjection, unaltered by Christ's former advent, and only to be altered by his coming in the clouds. The tyranny under which the church came after Christ, was the worst of all; yet for three centuries of persecution the primitive Christians gave the example of the most patient submission to the powers that be. Subjection, then, is the law and ordinance of the church.

With respect to the magistrate, he continued, as since the days of Nebuchadnezzar, when the church was brought into captivity and subjection, he had been in the possession of the highest power upon the earth,—the power of judgment unto life and death; the power of property; the power of ordering, but not innovating or altering, in religious matters; and, in short, supreme power in all visible things, without any responsibility to any other power earthly. There lay no appeal from him upon the earth. A man that feared God might not take arms against the magistrate, even if the magistrate should confiscate his property and condemn him to death. The only check, the only controul, was the providence of God: the only superior was God, the Caster-down and Setter-up of kings. The state might do injustice; the gods or rulers of the state might refuse to judge the fatherless and the widow; they might advance vile men to the glory of the kingdom; and God would visit them with condign judgments for the same, by stirring up insurrections, by bringing up shepherd nations and barbarous tribes, and by means of other arrows, of which he hath plenty in his quiver. But no Christian might take part in these risings against the state of which he was a subject; but must ever be found ready to draw the sword in the defence of the king, even although, which was oft the case in the primitive church, the emperor, in the midst of their loyal service, should command them to be executed for not worshipping his image. On the other hand, at all times, but especially when suffering under the power, they were en-

joined to offer "intercessions, prayers, and givings of thanks, for all men, especially for kings and for all that are in authority." These intercessions and supplications, and patient sufferings of his church, God at length gave ear unto; and when the cup of Paganism was full, he removed that abomination out of the way, and brought emperors and magistrates, and all in authority over the Roman kingdom, to the knowledge of the truth. When this revolution was effected in the providence of God, and the powers that became to believe in Christ, their authority, their supreme authority upon the earth, so far from being weakened, was only the more enlarged, by being rested upon the basis of God's word, which they were now enabled to believe. And while the king, as supreme, was many times more firmly rooted in his dignity by becoming a Christian, the church was likewise the more stedfastly bound in her obligation to be a subject. Just as a Christian wife, that hath married an unbelieving husband, will feel herself bound by a new tie when her husband hath become a Christian also.

Thus then, the kingdoms, upon becoming Christian, looked up to Christ as the Prince of the kings of the earth, and were bound to consider themselves as holding the power for the ends of justice and righteousness and grace and mercy which he had revealed by the mouth of all the Prophets and Apostles since the world began; and the church, upon the other hand, was, as hath been said, bound by the most sacred obligations of God to continue in subjection, not for fear, but for conscience sake, unto the powers that be,

knowing that they are ordained of God. On the other part, the powers that be, on becoming Christian, and establishing the holy Scriptures as the only rule of faith and righteousness, and doing their utmost endeavour to serve Christ's church, were not permitted to alter, or infringe in any thing upon, the constituted doctrine, discipline, worship, and government thereof; because this would have been, not to obey Christ, but to usurp upon Christ's dignity as Head of the church: for the dignity of Christ as Head of the church, and his dignity as Prince of the kings of the earth, is one and the same dignity, expressed in the word Lord, and together constituting his office of King. So stood the foundations of church and state; and so must they stand until Christ come to unite both under one visible head, which is himself. And, these foundations being destroyed, religion, law, and liberty, sink and perish together; and Christ is disallowed; and his coming is not expected; and the end of God in the preservation of church and state is defeated: of which the one is placed in his room for the fellowship of His sufferings as a subject, and the other is placed in his room for the fellowship of His honour as a king: the church, to hold forth a faithful testimony unto all men concerning their various offices under Christ; and the state, to hear her testimony, and to obey, not her word, but the word of Christ in her mouth.

Such is the constitution of church and state, as it had subsisted from the time of the long captivity, and was intended to subsist until Christ should come to deliver his church from humiliation

into glory, from suffering into reward. But now we come to the great revolution wrought by Satan through the instrumentality of "the little horn" who moved and animated the fourth beast; whose most grievous crime consisted in subverting these, the foundations of the church and state, and in turning Christ's house upside down. The horns, or kingdoms, not only permitted and authorized the pope's impositions upon the church, but they suffered themselves to be deprived of their own rights, and yielded their supremacy to the supremacy of the priest. This began in the time of Justinian, who, according to Gianoni, "was the first who began to increase the jurisdiction of bishops over the causes of ecclesiastics, and gave to them the privilege of not pleading before lay judges." It went on increasing itself by slow degrees, until it had clothed itself with all the attributes and offices of our Lord Jesus Christ. And the emperor and kings of the Western Roman Empire did so far forget their dignity and duty, as to yield up their supremacy to the bishop of Rome. Or, if in some instances they resisted his diabolical pretensions, they still acknowledged him, by acknowledging the system whereof he was the head: they had his mark, and the number of his name; and they worshipped his image: they suffered, they encouraged, the worshipping of his wafer-god: they permitted the Mass, which maketh void the sacrifice of Christ; and they lent themselves in all other respects unto the beast. Thus did they with their power build up that system which is purely anti-Christian, and every one of its constitutions directly set against the authority of Christ both in church and state. The Pagan system can hardly

be called anti-Christian; it doth not merit so hard a name: Paul representeth it as letting, or hindering, the mystery of iniquity, which in his time was beginning to work, and which was perfected in the Roman system of which the pope is the head.

Now, I pray you give heed to me, while, for the glory of Christ, I do resume my subject where I broke it off; and, having ascertained the great question of the ten horns, do now proceed to ascertain the still greater question of the identity of the little horn, who as its spirit doth inspire the fourth beast, and for obedience to whose words the fourth beast is judged and consumed with fire. In doing which we shall be both minute and patient; for much, very much resteth thereon.

Of this horn it is thus written: "I considered the horns, and, behold, there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots: and, behold, in this horn there were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things....whose look was more stout than his fellows....who made war with the saints, and prevailed against them." The mystery of this horn, is thus explained in verses 24 and 25: "And the ten horns out of this kingdom are ten kings that shall arise: and another shall rise after them; and he shall be diverse from the first, and he shall subdue three kings. And he shall speak great words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High, and think to change times and laws: and they shall be given into his hand, until a time and times and the dividing of time."—In order to the

ascertaining of the identity of this little horn, it is necessary, as in the former case, that we examine the conditions of the question, which seem to be these:—First, he cometh up among the rest. In verse 24 he is said to rise "after" them; but in the Greek version it is "behind" them; the original word signifying indifferently, *behind* in place, and *after* in time. Mede explains it to signify that he grew up without their being aware of it.—The second condition is, that he is "diverse from the rest; having eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things." These eyes in the little horn will be best explained by the description of the Lamb (Rev. v. 6), as "having seven horns, and seven eyes, which (eyes) are the seven Spirits of God sent forth into all the earth." The eyes, therefore, in the horn, do signify him to be a spiritual power after the same fashion in which Christ is a spiritual power. And, seeing that he is judged by God for his arrogant asumption of Divine dignity, we must hold that his claim to spiritual power after the fashion of Christ's, is a usurpation; which is the more confirmed by his mouth speaking great words against the Most High: because of the voice of which great words the beast is slain, and given to the devouring flame.—The third condition is derived from his actings, which are partly political and partly spiritual. His political actings are his plucking up three of the first horns by the roots, and his over-ruling the rest to his wicked ends and involving them in his guilt: wherefore his look is said to be more stout than his fellows, and the dominion is said to be *his* dominion (ver. 26). The spiritual actings of the little horn are, first, his blasphemies against the Most High; secondly,

his wearing out the saints of the Most High with war and persecution; and, thirdly, his thinking to change times and laws.—The fourth and last condition is the period of his dominion over the saints—for time, times, and half a time; and endureth until the judgment begins to sit.—These are the four conditions of the question, which is the little horn? And now for the resolution of the question.

1. I answer, in the face of all men, that there is no power which is, which hath been, and I may say which is to be, that can answer these conditions of the question, but the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, in whom I shall now shew that these conditions do entirely meet together and harmonize. First, he arose amongst the ten horns. This separates him from the apostasy of the Greek church, and from the imposture of Mohammed, both of which are beyond the bounds of the ten kingdoms. He arose after, or behind them, in whichever sense you choose to take the word. That is, if you understand it after, in point of time, they all sprouted in the head of the beast before he appeared: for, as we shall shew in the sequel, the pope obtained not his spiritual usurpation till the year 532; before which time, so far back as the beginning of the preceding century, the Gothic tribes, out of which the chief part of the ten horns arose, had established themselves in the body or territory of the beast, and were growing up to be crowned kingdoms, over whom the little horn should afterwards exercise the dominion. It is true, as we have shewn forth above, that they had not yet attained to the rank and dignity which entitles them to be considered as crowned horns

of the beast; but it is to be observed, that the information, and criterion for ascertaining the identity of these kingdoms, was obtained from the Apocalypse, and not from the prophecy of Daniel, which contemplateth them not with reference to time or state, but merely with reference to number, and priority of existence to the little horn. It is, moreover, to be remarked, that though the Pope came into being at the date mentioned above as a spiritual usurper, he did not attain to his dominion over the body of the beast and his horns till after the time of Hildebrande, in the eleventh century, and after the time of Barbarossa, in the twelfth century; when, after the cessation of the wars of the Guelphs and the Ghibbelines, the emperor having succumbed, the pope was the little horn complete, the Melchizedec of Satan, the man of his right hand revealed: before which epoch, it will be observed, by consulting the dates given above, that all the horns were crowned, and ready for his service. So that, whether you regard the first origination or the ultimate perfection of the horns, their first sprouting into sight or their full growth, it is equally true that the little horn came up *after* them. If, again, you understand "after them" to signify *behind* them—that is, unobserved, and as it were by stealth, and gradual, unseen encroachments; not by sudden conquest, or straight-forward attack, like the powers of Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus, and Alexander, which won the mastery of the former beasts—you have only to read the history of the bishops of Rome, from the time of Clement, in the sixth century, up to the time of Hildebrande,

and onward to Alexander, in the end of the twelfth century, in order to be convinced with what deceptions of cunning craftiness, with what inventions of darkness and stratagems of hell, that spirit of apostasy, which Peter had foretold, did work in the successors of Peter its crooked way to the supremacy of the church and of the ten kingdoms of the Western Empire.

2. The second condition, is his being "diverse from the other horns," by the eyes which were in it, and the mouth speaking blasphemies—of which the former, we have shewn, is the symbol of Christ's own power in the Spirit; and the latter is the symbol of a prophet, or minister of Christ, according to that which is written, "I will be unto you a mouth." Now it is never to be denied, by the most brazen forehead, that the bishop of Rome hath assumed to himself that office of headship in the church, which belongeth to Christ only, because Christ only hath maintained it, and doth maintain it, by the communication of the Holy Spirit unto all the members. And, in support of his claim to be the head of the church, what function of Christ hath he not dared to arrogate unto himself; taking to himself the infallibility of his word; the dispensation from duties and the forgiveness of sins, yea, and the very worship of Godhead; and permitting himself to be called by the name of God on earth; issuing from his city, as if it were the New Jerusalem, bulls, to the extremities of Christendom; imposing interdicts upon kingdoms, fulminating anathemas against saints, and executing judgments upon those who testified against those usurpations?

He is in very deed the devil's minion, the devil's mockery of Christ, the devil's imitation of Christ, to delude Christendom withal, and make her believe that she was existing in the light of the New Jerusalem, while all was darkness; that she was enjoying the blessedness of the Millennium, while all was rapine, bloodshed, and spoliation. Oh, it passeth utterance, it passeth even understanding, how Satan was able to delude Christendom with that building of hell, the Roman Popedom, the harlot city; and make them believe that it was the New Jerusalem, the sanctuary of God, and the very dwelling-place of Christ. Had it not been the imitation of every thing good and noble and blessed, it could not, being a pure device of hell, have been palmed upon the credulity of so many ages, and upon the faith of so many saints. It is like the body of the dead, of those newly dead, where all but life is present: the noble faculties of life are gone, but every thing else is there; which wanting, it wanteth all that constitutes health, beauty, and strength, and soon becometh the prey of corruption; only the more corrupt, because it is the corruption of the most noble, the most beautiful creature of God. But the great point, as it appears to me, of distinction, or diversity, between the little horn and the other horns, consisteth in this, that the little horn "had eyes in it like the eyes of a man." Now the eye, as we have said, is the symbol of the church, which in heaven is full "of eyes," behind and before and within; and the horn, we have seen, is the symbol of the state: the one, of spiritual government; the other, of temporal: and there-

fore the peculiarity of the little horn standeth in this, that it combineth power spiritual and power temporal; that it is king and priest, in one person, a priest after the order of Melchizedec; which dignity belongeth only to Christ in the present age, and is invisible; but in the age to come shall be visible, and belong to Christ and his risen saints. What, therefore, we have to shew, in order to make out this second condition of the question, is, that the pope did assume to himself this double dominion over church and over state. And because "he hath a mouth speaking great things," it will be best to establish it out of his own mouth, which it will be by no means difficult to do. This I shall do, first in the way of narrative, shewing how it came about; and next in the way of quotation from his own words, both as respecteth his spiritual and his temporal supremacy.

The papal usurpation upon Christ's prerogative consisteth in this, that a minister of Christ—an ordinary minister such as I am, and no more—should take to himself the dignity which belongeth to Christ alone; and it hath its success from the facility and meanness of kings in recognising, or any way enduring, this man, or the system of which this man is the head. The bishop of Rome (who, I say again, is only an apostate minister of my own rank in the church,) did inherit from the first and earliest ministers of the church in Rome, who had been zealous for orthodox doctrine, and ready at all times to die for the faith—from a succession of such much tried, proved, and very faithful predecessors in that see (by which word "see," I mean no more than an ordinary minister's

charge, such as I fill), he did obtain such an hereditary reputation as in process of time shewed itself (in the third and fourth and fifth centuries) in various acts of presumption, which were ever resisted by the churches in other parts of Christendom. But in process of time, when the seat of empire was removed to Constantinople, and large room was left for his cunning artifice to work in, he began to consolidate his power; which was the more easily done by reason of the Arianism which then overspread the West, and likewise of the orthodox believers falsely conceiving that it was their duty to retire from the management of affairs, and the public ministry of the church, into the retirement of solitude and the severity of a monastic life. Christendom, the orthodox part of Christendom, fearing for the faith, and deprived of her ablest defenders, was glad to look to the bishop of Rome, who had ever been famous in past times for his orthodoxy and faithfulness; and he lost not the advantage which they presented to them. But still the emperor, head of power, and protector of the people from priestly and all other oppressions, stood out against the pretensions of an independent jurisdiction, which the bishop of Rome began to put forth. He long let and hindered the man of sin from forming and perfecting the system which had been foretold; but in process of time, when the emperor Justinian was in peril of entirely losing the Western half of the empire; and, being minded to make a great demonstration, under his general Belisarius, for the recovery of the same out of the hands of the persecuting Arians; in order to conciliate all the

orthodox of the West, and to protect himself from the suspicion of heresy, into which he afterwards fell, did issue edicts many, constituting the bishop of Rome head of all the Western churches, and ultimate judge of all questions of doctrine and discipline: and these edicts being placed in the forefront of the Pandects, or civil code, became the absolute and positive law of all the West. This was a great step gained; but still much remained. He had not yet taken to himself the title of universal bishop; but did so in about seventy years thereafter—that is, in the beginning of the seventh century—yet not until he himself, Gregory the Great, who took it, had solemnly denounced John of Constantinople Antichrist, for having taken the same a few years before. And now he began to proceed with full march towards the height of his Satanic ambition: first measuring his strength with the emperor in Constantinople, and setting up an independent jurisdiction in civil matters; then cajoling the emperors of the West, and taking bribes of them for the establishment of their dynasty; until at length another Gregory, Hildebrande (or, as the Homily changeth it, brand of hell), fairly put in the daring claim of being prince over kings, in whom and for whom and by whom kings reign: and when they refused to do him homage, or to be obedient to his injunctions, he dared to put their dominions under an interdict, and to excommunicate from fire and from water every one of their subjects from obeying their lawful king. Nor is there any kingdom in Europe which hath not either been threatened with, or actually put under, this fearful

act of the devil incarnate: certainly this realm of England hath been put under it often. And it is false to say that the pope of Rome hath ever renounced such diabolical pretensions. And though it be true that he hath been successfully resisted in these last years, both in France and in Belgium, is it not equally true that he hath put forth his old pretensions, and would have kept in his own hand the jurisdictions contended for, if he had not been resisted? His needing to be resisted, proves what his inclination and disposition are. But it is better that we should let the pope speak for himself: he is his own best accuser: he convicteth himself of the Melchizedec usurpation.

That a minister of Christ should have dared to invade the dignity of Christ as universal bishop and head of the church, to take unto himself all the titles of holiness and intercession which pertain to Christ, is not to be believed save out of his own mouth, and therefore I quote from his own decrees. "It standeth upon necessity of salvation for every human creature to be subject unto me, the pope of Rome." "My church of Rome hath not been preferred by any general council, but obtained the primacy only by the voice of the Gospel and the mouth of the Saviour; and hath neither spot nor wrinkle, nor any such thing." "All must be judged of me, and I of no man." "It is to be affirmed that the vicar of Christ hath power on things celestial, terrestrial, and infernal, which he took immediately of Christ: all other take it immediately by Peter and the pope."—I say, that any man should use such language of

himself passeth all comprehension; but that the minister of Christ should thus usurp it over all ministers, calling himself "neither God nor man, but the admiration of the world, and a middle thing between both:" that this usurpation should come out of the Church of Rome, which in the beginning was so highly favoured of God, is a thing that demonstrates human wickedness in such a way as maketh one to tremble for himself at the depths of Satan, and how far beyond the depths of Satan a living soul can reach to. Ah me! I would that the unparalleled assumptions of this Antichristian system were better known, even if it had no other effect than to make every good man tremble, to see what a good man, given up to himself, may become: for, beyond all doubt, Rome was the holiest and most orthodox of the Christian churches, and the bishops of Rome the most excellent and devoted of the Christian bishops. This was indeed an awful thing, and shews what Satan can work by means of men, that that church should turn in time to be the mother of harlots and of the abominations of the earth. God preserve us from the depths of iniquity which lie hidden in a human heart! From the power of sin which may be consummated by a Christian church, good Lord, deliver us!

But when, in addition hereto, he dareth to ascend from earth to heaven; and not only to lord it in the midst of the golden candlesticks, which are the churches, and the stars, which are the angels of the churches; but also to ascend to heaven, and seat himself on Christ's throne, and rule nations and change laws and times and

seasons, with which a minister of Christ hath no concern, but which belongeth to anointed kings—this is a thing of such stupendous magnitude for a succession of gowned priests to obtain, that it passeth all utterance, and almost all belief. And because many be inclined to disbelieve it, hear me, while I quote again from the very words of the Popes:—"God hath set two great dignities, the authority of the pope and of the emperor: of which two, this our dignity is so much more weighty as we have the greater charge, to give account to God for kings of the earth and the laws of men; having both swords in my power, both of the spiritual and temporal jurisdiction: so far surmounting the authority of the emperor, that I, of my own power alone, without a council, have authority to depose him, and transfer his kingdom, and give authority for a new election, as I did to Frederick and divers others." And here I have before me thirty-six instances in which the Pope asserteth that he had exercised his power in deposing kings and interdicting kingdoms. And, again: "All the earth is my diocese, and I the ordinary of all men, having the authority of the King of all kings upon subjects: I am all in all, and above all." Again, referring to one of his canons, "Do you not see there manifestly expressed, how, not man, but God alone, separateth that which the Bishop of Rome doth dissolve and separate: wherefore, if these things that I do be said to be done not of man, but of God, what can you make me but god?" Again: "If prelates of the church be called and counted of Constantinus for gods, I then, being above all prelates, seem

by this reason to be above all gods: wherefore, no marvel if it be in my power to change time and times, to alter and abrogate laws, to dispense with all things, yea, the precepts of Christ." And then he quotes several instances in which he doth set himself above Christ, by dispensing with Christ's commandments. I have now before me more than two hundred quotations from the authorized and unrepealed acts of the Pope, every one in the spirit, and many passing beyond the letter, of these which I have quoted. Now, what can be said of such a system, but that it dethroneth God, and placeth in his stead the devil incarnate? It is unutterable blasphemy, it is inexplicable madness; it is "higher than the heavens, who can know it? deeper than hell, who can fathom it?" longer than the earth, and broader than the waters, who can compass it? I would not invade your ears with such horrible things, were it not that they have been forgotten, were it not that they are sleeked and smoothed over. But find me on record an instance in which they have been revoked; find me any act of the consistory of Rome, any bull of the Pope, by which any one of these usurpations have been renounced and repented of. And yet, brethren, they are men; men like ourselves. Know then, and tremble to know, of what wickedness men are capable. The offence, the indignity, the usurpation done upon the glory of Christ by the Bishop of Rome, passeth knowledge; it is not to be reckoned up.

If I come now to speak of the evil done to kings, what less is it than the total annihilation of their dignity, of that superlative dignity with

which Christ hath invested them? To be the vicegerents of the Son of God, to be lieutenants of Him who sitteth on the throne of the Father, to be called god; how honourable and divine a dignity it is! To be responsible, not to man, nor to any council or assembly of men, for the exercise of power, but to Christ only, from whom all power proceedeth; how free an immunity it is! To have the charge of so many creatures, all created in the likeness of God; to have the charge of so many Christians, all regenerate of the Holy Ghost; what a charge and trust it is! To have the power of establishing the church, of purging out of it superstition and idolatry and will-worship, of calling together its ministers in solemn assembly, and to sit therein presiding over their deliberation; what a godly dignity it is! O ye kings, O ye princes of the earth! love God, for he hath highly exalted you; fear and honour Christ, for he hath mightily empowered you. Oh, what were your gift of the Holy Ghost, if you would be faithful to Christ! How he would replenish you with honour, and with power, and with wisdom, and with sanctity, for the high ends of kingly power with which you be entrusted! And all this supremacy upon the earth to have yielded to an usurping, unarmed priest! How are the mighty fallen! how are the mighty fallen!—Let me but quote what these horrible impostors have dared to say of the royal line of England: "Did not I, Pope Alexander, bring under Henry the Second King of England, for the death of Thomas Becket, and cause him to go barefoot to his tomb at Canterbury with bleeding feet? Did not I, In-

nocentius the Third, cause King John to kneel down at the feet of Pandulphus my legate, and offer up his crown; also, to kiss the feet of Stephen Langton, bishop of Canterbury; and, besides, merced him in a thousand marks? Did not I, Pascalis, excommunicate also his son Henry the Third, and get out of his hands all rights and titles of elections, and donations of spiritual promotions? Did not I, Alexander the Third, suspend all the realm and churches of England for the king's marriage? Did not I interdict King Henry the Eighth, and all his kingdom of England; and had not his prudence and power prevented my practice, I had displaced him from his kingdom also." Briefly, who is able to comprehend the greatness of his power and of his seat? Hear now what they say concerning the emperor:—"Who did first translate the empire from the Greeks to the Almanes (Germans), but I? Did not I, Gregory, also set up Rodolphus against Henry the Fourth, emperor? And though this Henricus was an emperor of most stout courage, who stood sixty-two times in open field against his enemies, yet did not I, Gregory, bring him into our presence before us; and make him stand at my gates three days and three nights barefooted and bare-legged, with his wife and child, in the deep of winter, both in frost and snow, entreating for his absolution; and after did excommunicate him again; so that he was twice excommunicated in my days? And after Gellatius, did not I, Calistus the Second, quell the Emperor Henricus the Sixth; and also bring in subjection Gregory, whom the said emperor had set up

against me to be Pope, bringing him into Rome upon a camel, with his face towards the tail, making him hold the tail in his hand instead of a bridle? Did not I, Andricus, controul and correct the Emperor Frederick, for holding the left stirrup of my horse, when he should have holden the right? and did I not excommunicate and curse him, for that he was so saucy to set his own name in writing before mine? And although a poor fly afterward overcame and strangled me, yet I made kings and emperors to stoop."—But I stop in shame of what this dragon-mouth hath uttered against the Lord's anointed; and I ask, whether such awful things were ever done under any other system whatsoever? It is alleged, by the favourers of the Papacy, that all these things are done away with, and ought to be forgotten for ever. I ask for the canons, I ask for the bulls, by which they are done away with; and until they are produced I will not admit the apology. Is transubstantiation done away with? is the idolatry of the mass done away with? is the Pope's supremacy done away with? is the authority of his bulls done away with? Hath he not in our own time prevented the circulation of the Scriptures? hath he not in our own time reconstituted the order of the Jesuits? And doth he not contend for every iota of ground, though he be obliged to yield it? Hath he not titular bishops and archbishops over every part of his ancient realm, not excepting Britain itself? Is there any signs in all this of a change to humbler thoughts and humbler purposes? Is the tiger, because he is chained and tied, less a tiger still? is the grinding of his teeth, or the stroke of his paw, less his natural propen-

sity, because he is restrained from destroying? It is the system, which the Lord abhorreth: it is the spirit of the incarnate devil which is in it, that the Lord hateth: it is the head of usurpation which it setteth up against Christ and his church, against God and his revealed truth; it is the breaking down of all the principles of government and subjection; it is the cruel persecution of all saints; it is the obstinate perversion of all worship; it is the innumerable inventions of all wickedness;—in one word, it is the mystery of iniquity which is included in her, for which God detests and abhors her, and will bring her, and all who favour her, into speedy and irremediable destruction.

Let this suffice for proof that the Pope hath fulfilled the second condition of the question,—that in his horn of power there is a prophet's eye; that he is at once a king and a priest; that he hath united those two things, the spiritual and the temporal, which are appointed to be kept apart until the coming of Christ; also, that he hath "a mouth speaking great things," greater things than ever had been spoken or imagined by man before. We have convicted him out of his own mouth; and his own words bewray him to be the little horn. These two conditions, therefore, being satisfied—the first, that he rose up behind the other horns; the second, that he was diverse from the rest, in conjoining power ecclesiastical with power political, the eyes of the seer with the horns of the king—

3. We come next to try the identity of the Pope with the little horn by the third condition of the question, which is, his actings: whereof the poli-

tical part is twofold,—the one particular, the other general.

(1.) The particular act of political power is his plucking up three of the horns by the root, This leads us to examine what kingdoms or powers are represented by the three horns which the little horn overcame. When Augustulus resigned the sceptre of the western Roman empire, in the year 476, the Ostrogoths held possession of Italy and of Rome; until they were expelled and utterly suppressed by Belisarius and Narses, the two great commanders under the emperor Justinian: of whom the latter governed Italy for thirty years under the title of Proconsul, until the Lombards, in the year 568, conquered for themselves, and settled in, the north of Italy, which now retains their name; and, persevering in their ambition, they attacked Ravenna itself, which had become the residence of the emperor's proconsul, and succeeded in the conquest of it: upon which the Pope, fearing for himself, called in the aid of Pepin king of France, who, having succeeded in expelling them from the exarchate of Ravenna, gave it into the hands of the Pope, who till this time had possessed little territory besides those lands which belonged to him as bishop of the Roman diocese. The exarchate of Ravenna was governed by a sort of viceroy, or lieutenant, invested with imperial authority, and having power over the rest of Italy. Which last representation of imperial power in the West formed the basis of the Papal power, as if to admonish men by whom the imperial authority was to be supplanted. And thus the Pope became lord of Ravenna and the whole exarchate, some few cities excepted; and the keys

were sent to Rome, and laid upon the confessional of St. Peter—that is, upon his tomb at the high altar—"*in sign of true and perpetual dominion, and by the pious gratuity of the king*," as the inscription of a coin of Pepin beareth. This was in the year of Christ 765; and henceforward the Popes, being temporal princes, left off in their bulls and epistles to note the years of the Greek emperors, as they had hitherto done, "changing times." Twenty years after this, the Lombards having invaded the Pope's territories, he invited Charlemagne, Pepin's son, to his help; who overthrew the Lombards, and added to the grant of his father the chief part of their possessions: from which time that kingdom also ceased to be. In reward of which service, Charlemagne was made *Patrician* by the Romans, which gave him the power of confirming the election of the Popes. All this while, the city of Rome itself, like the rest of Italy, had been under the government of a duke, dependant upon the exarch who represented the emperor in the West; and so it continued for nearly two hundred years, until, upon the occasion of the dispute about the worship of images, the Pope, having called a council, excommunicated the emperor of the East, and absolved the people from their allegiance. This act—and I may say, first act, upon the great scale, by the bishop of Rome as the superior of temporal sovereigns—took place in the year 726: from which time forth it became a free state, under the government of its own senate, with their patrician at their head; the Pope being entirely confined to matters purely spiritual. And thus things continued at Rome, even after he had become sovereign of the cities of the exarchate and of

Lombardy. But, intriguing, to the end of obtaining through the same powerful means the sovereignty of Rome also, he brought himself into the suspicion of the inhabitants, and was forced to flee with indignity to Charlemagne; who, coming to Rome, in the year 800, did reinstate the Pope, and obtain for himself the imperial purple, as the successor of the Cæsars; being crowned and anointed, yea, and with bended knee worshipped by the Pope himself. Being arrived at this dignity of Emperor of the West and Consul of Rome itself, he gave the city and duchy of Rome to the Pope, to be held with the other two subordinately to himself: and thus was Peter's patrimony completed; and the Pope created a temporal sovereign over three independent kingdoms or states—the first, the city and principality of Rome, the heart and head of the empire, after it had subsisted independent on the emperor and the exarchate for more than seventy years; the second, the exarchate itself, which represented the imperial power in the West; the third, the kingdom of the Lombards, one of those ten Gothic nations which invaded and overturned the empire. And these I regard as the three horns which the little horn plucked up by the roots. Now all this was completed in the year 800: from which time till this he hath remained invested in these territories, without either much increase or diminution at any time; except that, in the beginning of the twelfth century, Matilda countess of Tuscany bequeathed to the holy see Tuscany, Spoletto, Parma, and Placentia: which led to long contests between the Emperor and Pope, terminating most successfully

to the latter, who now shook off the allegiance and authority of the emperors altogether, and from thenceforth was supreme in secular power, as heretofore he had been supreme in spiritual power.

(2.) Now it is to be observed, with respect to the *general* political influence which the Pope held over the rest of the horns, that it was not the power of arms, but the power of words. It was for the great words which the little horn spake that the beast was judged, and his body given to the burning flame: that is to say, it was the obedience of his edicts, the allowance of his claims, the permission of his imposts, the execution of his spiritual sentences against heretics, and, in general, the surrender of their rights as Christian kings, which brought them under the sentence of the wrath of God. The permission of clerical persons, who were their subjects, to be under ecclesiastical jurisdiction only; the permission of all other subjects to remove many questions to the court of Rome; with a thousand other infringements upon the sacred covenant between prince and people, and between Christ and prince, which I cannot mention particularly; these continual invasions of the rights of kings and magistrates, arose in various states—yea, I may say, in every state at different times—to the enormity of absolving subjects from obedience, on the peril of being deprived of all religious ordinances; thereby setting the authority of religion in direct opposition to the authority of the civil magistrate. His influence over the states of Europe was manifested by nothing more completely than by these three great acts,—the rallying of all their forces in so many most fruitless and wasteful crusades;

thereafter the inducing of them to establish the Inquisition, and otherwise to suppress by crusades or persecutions the true servants of God; and lastly, the suppression of the Reformed principles in all their kingdoms, this kingdom only excepted. Whenever any thing threatened the power of the Pope as the head of Christendom, whether from without or from within, the kings were ready to bring him help; and what more can a sovereign desire?

(3.) From these his political actions, both particular and general, we now come to cast our eye upon his spiritual actions, which are, first, his blasphemies against the Most High. This he fulfilleth by assuming to himself Divine titles, Divine attributes, and Divine honours; treading upon the altar of God at his installation, and permitting himself to be worshipped and adored as God by the cardinals of his church. This is a point upon which it may be necessary to dwell a little, in order to expose some of those blasphemies which he hath uttered. Amongst the first I place his claiming to be head of the church, or universal bishop; which appeared to Pope Gregory the Great, commonly called St. Gregory, so very heinous a thing, as that he, overawed by the indefeasible divinity of that title, did not hesitate to say, that none of his predecessors (and he lived towards the end of the sixth century) would ever take upon him this ungodly name, to be called the Universal Bishop; and he does not hesitate to denounce as Lucifer and Antichrist any one who should take unto him this title; and addeth, moreover, that it was a thing diligently to be resisted: "If we bear

this matter quietly, we destroy the faith of the whole church." These also are his words: "We also are not far from you, seeing in Him who is every where we are one: therefore let us give thanks to him, who, having destroyed enmities in his own flesh, hath brought it to pass that in the whole world there shall be one flock and one sheepfold, under himself the one Shepherd."—Next to this claim of headship I place the blasphemy of his being king of kings; which, when the Seventh Gregory, commonly called Hildebrand, did claim for the Papal see, the preachers denounced him as Antichrist; as is testified in historians long before the Reformation; of whom one saith, "As the subject of their sermon they preach him Antichrist; under the name of Christ performing the work of Antichrist; and in Babylon seated in the temple of God, exalted above all that is worshipped, as if he were God." And again, "Hildebrand, under colour of religion, first laid the foundations of Antichrist's kingdom: to whom William the Conqueror made answer; Hubert your legate came unto me, warning me from your holiness that I should do fealty to you and your successors: as for fealty, I neither would do it to you, neither will I, because I neither promised it myself, nor do I find that any of my predecessors have done it to your predecessors."—Having claimed to himself these two pre-eminent titles—the one proper to Christ as Head of the church, and the other proper to Christ as Prince of the kings of the earth—it was to be expected that all the style proper only to Christ and God would be assumed in due time. Hear, then, some of the

blasphemies which they have uttered. Pope Nicolas saith, "It is well known that the Pope was called God by that pious prince Constantine." The Pope, in the fourth session of the council of Lateran, suffered Christoper Marcellus to say unto him, "Thou art another god in earth." In the bulls of the Pope, his own decrees and decretals, it is thus written: "To believe that our Lord God the Pope (Dominum Deum nostrum) might not decree as he decreed, it were a matter of heresy." Again: "I do make holy the unholy; I do justify the wicked; I do forgive sins; I open, and no man shutteth." Again: "The Pope is exempted from all law of man." Again: "Neither all the clergy, nor all the world, can judge or depose the Pope."

The second of his spiritual actings is "his wearing out the saints of the Most High" with wars and persecutions. From the time that he was invested by the laws of Justinian with all power over the saints within the ten horns or kingdoms of the Western Roman empire, until this day, he hath raged with all manner of cruelty against the saints of God; first, by raising up the superstitious kings, who had given their power into his hand, against the confessors of the truth in the middle ages, commonly known by the name of the Waldenses and Albigenses, against whom he set on foot several crusades. Not but that at an earlier period there were many distinguished witnesses against and sufferers under the Papacy: witness Adelbert of France, and Samson of Scotland, and Claudius Clemens, of the same nation, bishop of Auxerre in France, who opposed Boniface the Pope's factor, while seeking to establish Papal supremacy, adoration of images, purgatory, pray-

ers for the dead, and the celibacy of the clergy; wherefore they were persecuted under Pope Zachary with bonds and imprisonments during the eighth century: witness the persecutions of Berengerius, on account of his opposition to the monstrous tenet of the real fleshly presence in the communion. Of the Waldenses and Albigenses, it is said that in France alone a million of men were slain. From this time forth persecution never ceased, against the Lollards in this island, against the followers of Huss and Jerome in Bohemia, and wherever any relics of the scattered Albigenses could be found; the number of whom hath not been estimated, and yet, as Mede observes, it was well known that it was not small. From the time of the origin of the Jesuits, within little more than thirty years, it is recorded that almost 90,000 were murdered. In Belgium alone, the duke of Alva boasted that by the hand of the executioner as many as 36,000 had been cut off. Vergerius, a most sufficient witness, testifieth that in the space of hardly thirty years 150,000 Christians were cut off by the Inquisition. And how many perished, in all the kingdoms of the Papacy, during the time of the Reformation, every one knoweth full well; and yet, alas! it is not sufficiently known, as is proved by the late exact, learned, and most Christian work of Dr. M'Crie upon the Reformation in Italy. Now in all these actings, as their own writers would apologize and as all history beareth out, they were slain, not by the Pope and the bishops, but by the political magistrates, wickedly brought under his controul.

The third of his religious actings is, his "thinking

to change times and laws." Now, with respect to his changing of times, nothing seemeth to us so demonstrative of this condition of the question, as his endeavour to constitute the millennial reign of Christ during this, the time of the church's patience and sufferings. These centuries of Papal domination are looked back to by the Church of Rome as the thousand years of glory and blessedness, and the breaking forth of the Reformation is considered by them as the loosing of Satan. This, however, resteth not in an opinion, but is, in truth, the whole spirit of the Papal system; which is an attempt to set up the visible kingdom and glory of Christ upon the earth in the person of the Pope and in the city of Rome, and so to change the times which God hath before appointed. For as it is a high prerogative of Christ—as is set forth in the first chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews—to constitute the ages ("He made the worlds,") so is it a great and notable act of the apostate to think to change those times which Christ hath appointed. I observe also, that it is chiefly through his means that the "time, times, and half a time," which God hath appointed, have been cast out of the order of God's purpose, and thrown forward to the end of the dispensation, under the false and foolish interpretation of being merely three literal years and a half, during which Antichrist is to be revealed. And, in one of the quotations made above, he saith, "Wherefore, no marvel if it be in my power to change time and times, to alter and abrogate laws;" convicting himself in the very words of the holy prophecy.—With respect, again, to the changing of laws, or

ordinances; there is not one which he hath not altered from its original institution by the Lord. Is it baptism? for the pure water he hath substituted his own mixture of several ingredients. Is it the Lord's supper? he hath changed the bread into flesh and the wine into blood, and taken the cup from the people. Is it the visitation of the sick? he hath turned it into the sacrament of extreme unction. Is it repentance? he hath turned it into penance. He hath changed the separate estate of the soul, into purgatory. He hath changed the subjection of the priest, into superiority over the magistrate. I may say, there is not any of all Christ's ordinances which he hath not changed, making them void by his vain traditions.

And thus have we established, from his actings both political and spiritual, that this little horn answereth exactly to the Pope, and the Pope to this little horn; and we may add, that he alone can answer thereto, of all the powers which have arisen upon the earth. The Mohammedan power hath not changed, but abolished, all things; being not an apostasy, but an imposture. The Infidel power, so far as we have seen it in action, doth not change, but destroy. These have not influenced the ten horns, who made war against them: they have not subverted three of the kingdoms into which the Western empire was divided.

It remaineth only that we try the question, Is the Pope the little horn? by the fourth and last condition, which is, the period of his dominion over the saints; thus expressed: "They shall be

given into his hand until a time and times and the dividing of time." But this is of such importance and extent, as that we shall make it the subject of our next discourse. Meanwhile it remains that we set forth the practical conclusions which are to be derived from what hath come under our review this night.

1. And, First, we observe what is of the last importance to this kingdom, at this crisis of her history—to wit, that the connexion between the little horn and the ten horns is wholly a political connexion, and not an ecclesiastical one. None of the other horns have eyes like a man; and therefore they are purely political powers. Daniel regards them in the light of kingdoms, and not of churches; as political, and not as ecclesiastical bodies. It is the peculiar guilt of the little horn to be both political and ecclesiastical in one. This is not the guilt of the other horns, which are purely political bodies,—horns, or kingdoms. Their guilt standeth in their having listened to, given ear to, and obeyed the words which the mouth of the little horn spake. For nothing else but because they have communion and fellowship with the little horn, the ten kingdoms are guilty in the sight of God, and judged to the fire of hell. This remark is of the utmost importance at the present time, when the only defence which is set up, both by eccclesiastical and political persons, for the measure now contemplated, is, that it effects only a political, and not a spiritual, conjunction with the Papacy. Now, let this be granted to these discriminating and apologetical men, and I make answer, that this, and no more than

this, is the head and front of the unparalleled offending of the fourth beast. It is nothing to say that the Papacy is the church established by the other kingdoms, and that Protestantism is the church established here; for what, I ask, is either the meaning or the dignity of establishment, if the rulers of the state, the responsible ministers of the king, the legislators of the kingdom, the judges and the magistrates, and, in one word, all the persons invested with power, may be either Papist or Protestant? It is not giving us houses to preach in, or houses to dwell in, or lands to live upon, that makes a Protestant church to be established in the country. Such endowments have Dissenters also ofttimes attached to their places of worship. These are not the gifts of any government, or king, or states of parliament; they are neither royal nor national property; but belong to the church, by bequest, by the sacred right of property, older than Magna Charta itself; and they are accidental, not essential to an establishment. That which constitutes an established church is, that the king should be baptized thereinto, profess the faith and observe the discipline thereof. When we say the king, we mean, not himself as a private person (which he never is considered in the eye of law), but himself as the possessor of power, the fountain of honour, the head of the forces, the prime judge of the kingdom; himself acting by ten thousand members, whose actions are considered as the king's actions; who are responsible for the king; who are, to all intents and purposes, the members of the king. This constitutes an established

church—that the king, in legislation and in action, in war and in peace, on the bench judging, and in his sheriffs executing judgment, should be of that religion: also, that to the extent of his royal influence he should endeavour that his subjects be trained in the way of that church which he himself regardeth to be right. He is the father of his people, the head of the house; and he should endeavour what he can to make the fear of his God known unto the children of his family and the servants of his house. Then doth a kingdom fealty unto Christ, when solemn declarations, and oaths of allegiance to him, have been taken by the king and the members of the king's government: and such were these two kingdoms, till within the last twelve months: but now it is proposed to make it a matter of indifference whether the king shall act out his royal function and office by means of Protestants or Papists; and if this be brought about by the parliament of the king, with the assent of the king, then what have we but a kingdom indifferent to Protestantism or Papacy in its legislative and in its executive actings?

It is the truth, and no exaggeration, of what is about to be done,—That as a kingdom, we put the Papacy upon the same level with Protestantism; Papacy is as much the religion of our governors as Protestantism: they are upon a level in the eye of our king and kingdom: there is no preference of a man because he protests against the Papacy, or because he embraces it: in one word, the faith of the governor is put entirely out of the question. Under such cir-

cumstances, it is a mere accidental thing that the houses and lands continue with the Protestant church: they may pass over, by an act of the kingdom, to the Papists, who are hungering and thirsting for them. The kingdom which is indifferent to its persons, whether they be Papists or Protestants, may well be indifferent to the houses and the lands, whether they be given to the one or to the other. As I have said, these are merely accidental circumstances. There is no law in Scripture requiring that Christian churches should have tithe or tiend; that they should have cathedrals or parish churches; that they should have glebes, or manses, or aught of this kind. These all come of the free-will bounty and generosity of men, for the honour and convenience of God's worship. But it is the law of God's word, it is the eternal law of God's being, that kings and magistrates, and all office-bearers, should acknowledge Christ; that every name which is named, both in this world and that which is to come, should stand under and confess unto the name of Christ; that the religion of Christ, and the laws of Christ, and the Gospel of Christ, should be encouraged and practised by all kings and kingdoms which would inherit the favour of God the Father. And, on the other hand, it is equally the law of God's government that every king, magistrate, or person, who acknowledgeth the Pope of Rome, who hath the mark of the beast and the number of his name, shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of our God and of his Christ; that every king who acknowledgeth Christ should disallow Antichrist; should treat a ser-

vant of Antichrist as a rebel against Christ; should signify and make known, that no one who hath the number of the beast, or the mark of his name, shall serve him, in any of the offices of his house. Now, when these fundamental principles of Christian government are subverted, what matters it that certain shadows, not substances, should remain; that riches, dignities, and worldly preferments should belong to the Protestant clergy, and not to the Papists? Doth God look to these outward things? No! he looketh to principles. The principles are subverted; the foundations are destroyed; and the whole kingdom will be soon out of course. As the other kingdoms and their kings have listened to the little horn, so our king will listen, whenever he shall consent to have his sacred office served in any of its departments by a servant of the Pope. Then he listens to the Pope, in listening to the counsel of one of his branded slaves, who hath received the "mark of the beast in his forehead." Then he acteth in concert with the Pope, yea, and by the instrumentality of the Pope, when he acteth any part of his executive office by any servant of the Pope, who hath received the "mark of the beast in his hand." This, I say, is the listening unto the words of the little horn, which constitutes the whole face and front of the offending of the fourth beast: and this offence is ten times more offensive in us, who have hitherto refused all such intercourse and intercommunion, and have in a thousand ways proved the great and infinite blessings which have accrued unto us from our separateness from the unclean thing.

2. If now you inquire, wherein consisteth the guilt of such intercourse with, and endurance of, the little horn as is now about to be established by law in this kingdom, and hath long been so established in the other kingdoms of the fourth empire, I answer —which is the second lesson I would impress upon you this night—that the guilt of it consisteth in a virtual renunciation of Christ and his supremacy. Kings are viewed, in Scripture, to be in exactly the same relation to Christ as viceroys and lieutenants are to kings. I will say, that, until the republicanism which broke out in England in the time of the infamous and sacrilegious beheading of the First Charles, no doctrine was ever taught in the Christian church but that kings and magistrates are the lieutenants of Christ. This I know for certain, that it is the only doctrine taught in the Church of Scotland, whose minister I am: and it is the doctrine most certainly taught to Nebuchadnezzar, and in his person to all the kings who should succeed him. Now take hold of this principle, if Liberalism has not disqualified you from taking hold of any principle, and consider with yourselves, what would be the duty of the lieutenants of our king—say, the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, or the governor of Jamaica—if within their provinces some one should arise claiming to himself the right of royalty therein, and taking upon himself to issue decrees to coin money and to levy tribute in his own name and right? Would not the duty of the lord-lieutenant be to resist him; to issue proclamations against him; to interdict his decrees, and to put them down within his territory; to

expel the usurpers from beyond his boundary; and bear towards him suspicion and jealous observation during all the days of his life? The same duty—but in a far higher degree, as God is higher than man, and Christ's honour more precious than the honour of any king—doth lie with every sovereign who knows God and Christ, who in baptism acknowledgeth the lordship of Christ, to resist and repel and put down every man, be he priest or be he prince, who shall dare, within his dominions, to arrogate to himself that supremacy over kings which belongeth to Christ alone. If it belong to Christ, and Christ hath not delegated it to another but the chief magistrate, then whosoever besides the chief magistrate, or above the chief magistrate, dares assume unto himself to be vicar of Christ, doth both strike at Christ's dignity and likewise at the dignity of his proper vicar or vicegerent. For the honour of God, therefore; and for the honour of God's King, which is the Lord Jesus Christ; no less than for the honour of their own dignity, which hath no superior upon earth; it is the part of kings, their first duty it is, to make common cause against the Pope, who hath assumed to himself that supremacy both in church and state which belongeth only to Christ: and of all loyal subjects of the king, who honour the king because they honour Christ in him, it is the duty to support and sustain, by all means in their power, the cause of Christ and of kings and of kingdoms, against that unspeakable wickedness which the bishop of Rome hath dared to perpetrate. And for them not to do so, is, I say, guilt of exactly the same kind, but of an infinitely higher degree,

than that which a viceroy of our king would commit in not standing up against a pretender to the crown. Now, this is a guilt which men do not any longer even dream of. In all the debates of our parliament it hath not once been mentioned, nor even hinted at, that kings govern under Christ; and no wonder that when it is preached it should be rather wondered at than believed. But because men have resolved with one consent to put away Christ, the Head of kingdoms, from their remembrance, is no reason why I should cease to preach, or you to hear, that first principle and fundamental doctrine of holy Scripture and of the church, concerning civil politics. Because this arrogant age hath been enlightened out of all principle, I said above, that I feared lest the liberalism of many should have incapacitated them from laying hold of a principle at all. But if you understand what loyalty, fealty, or allegiance to your king is: and, if you understand it not, go and learn it from the gallant officers of his Majesty's army and navy; and having learned what a mighty principle it is, and what consequences of death, and of dishonour worse than death, the breach of it involveth, then come and ask yourselves what the crime must be, what the crying guilt must be, of those Christian kings, who, instead of teaching to their idolatrous brethren over the world the true knowledge and right acknowledgment of Christ, the Prince of the kings of the earth, have tamely, basely, and contemptibly yielded up the cause of Christ, their own cause, the cause of true government and true liberty, into the hands of a poor beggarly apostate

priest, inspired by the devil to mislead and destroy men. These ten kings, in listening to the little horn, have basely surrendered God's glory in Christ to the devil's glory in the Pope of Rome. They have given up their subjects to be deluded of him; they have given up the Holy Scriptures, to be by him fast locked in an unknown tongue; they have given up the primitive faith of the Apostles and the Nicene fathers, to be by him added to, contradicted, defeated, destroyed; they have given up God's worship, ordinances, sacraments, to be by him marred, meddled with, prostituted, prostrated, and with diabolical devices intermingled. Superstition dark as hell; superstition deep as the pit; superstition cunning as the old serpent; idolatry most bare-faced, most palpable; most damnable; the worship not only of a woman, but the worship of this stone statue of her for one miraculous power, and that stone statue of her for another!—(oh detestable!)—the worship of dead men's bones! the veneration of places, of crosses, of houses, of legends; above all, the worship of flesh, the worship of a wafer made into flesh, as they believe—all these things, and a thousand unutterable abominations, have kings, God's vicegerents, winked at! They have permitted them in their kingdoms; they have suffered cunning priests to propagate them; they have suffered their poor subjects to be destroyed by them; and whenever faithful witnesses rose up against them—Waldenses, Albigenses, Lollards, Protestants—they have given up the witnesses of the truth, the saints of God, to be destroyed by that little horn! Can such things

be done, and the doers of them be guiltless? Can such things be done, and the doers of them be otherwise than most guilty? Are sins against God and Christ of lesser moment than sins against men? Is idolatry and superstition, blasphemy of God's name, and adulterating of his ordinances, become inferior in the Decalogue, become posterior in the Decalogue, to murder, adultery, false witness, and covetousness? Or will not God judge for those as for these? O Christians! O Protestants! O Britons! is there no more zeal for God? Is it the whole duty of a senator to save a little of the nation's money? Is money the only thing to be zealous for? O my God! where will this end? Ah, what worse can we become? Far more grievous in thy sight is the way in which this great question hath been handled, than the question itself. Oh our vileness! oh our nakedness! oh our barrenness! I would almost that there were no eye of God to look upon it, it is so vile. But, ah no! his eye can look upon viler things than even this. O my king! O my country! O my people! whither would you go, whither would you blindly go? To destruction! to destruction! if God withstand not our self-destroying madness.

My heart is sore, my head is weary, and my words flow slowly and painfully from my breast; but yet I will not close this discourse, the last haply which I shall preach before the terrible deed is done, without a parting word to the Christian people who hear and understand what I say. Abraham hoped against hope; Abraham believed against probability, against possi-

bility; Abraham lifted up his knife upon his son, to slay him in whom God had promised that his seed should continue for ever. The like faith, the like hope, have I, and would have you to possess at this moment, concerning the tribes of this kingdom, which I believe to be the sealed tribes of the Apocalypse, which are preserved against those furious winds of the wrath of God which bring unto nought the kings and the captains and the mighty men of the earth. Faith without a promise, is superstition or fanaticism: faith with a promise, winneth the victory over the devil, the world, and the flesh. Blessed is he who hath a promise at this time to rest his faith upon! I have that blessedness, and I would fain impart it unto you. I cannot now lay out the grounds of it; nor, if I could, would I, standing over as it doth for our discourse next Lord's-day night. But I believe, I assure you, that we have such a promise, in this the darkest hour of the kingdom: and to you I give it, as ground of faith, and therefore ground of prayer; as ground of consolation, and therefore ground of joy. And because this blessed hope of our tribes resteth upon and is derived from the steady faithfulness of the church, I do call upon every believer—and if there be any ministers now listening to me, upon them especially I do call—with all diligence, with all faithfulness, with all earnestness, to set forth in their prayers the miserable state of this kingdom before the Lord, and implore his mercy: and in all responsible stations and offices, whether in the church or in the state, I call upon them evermore solemnly to protest against the innovations which will now

rush in like a flood. I call upon you not to desert the ship of the commonwealth of the church and state, but to abide therein, and stand fast, every man at his post, like good seamen in a breaking, bursting storm; and I think I can give hope from God's word, that in so doing we shall preserve and be preserved. I say not but the ship will go to pieces; I say not but the constitution, which we and the nations have worshipped, shall, like the brazen serpent that once saved Israel and afterwards came to be worshipped by Israel, be ground into powder: I say not but that it will be in much suffering unto us all; but I say that it will not be with the loss of our existence as a church and a nation. I believe that the sun, which is now beginning to be eclipsed by the hurricane, will yet shine out bright and strong upon our children, or our children's children, through the faithfulness, the present faithfulness, of us their fathers. Therefore, my brethren, my flock, and all ye Christian people who hear and understand these things, I pray you to be stirred up in your minds with good hope; and to continue instant in prayers; resigned unto the will of God; faithful unto Christ; hoping all things, believing all things; and waiting for the crown of glory, which Christ will give unto us, and unto all who love his appearing.

DISCOURSE VII.

ROME, AND THE POPE HER LITTLE HORN.

DANIEL vii. 7, 24, 25.

After this I saw in the night visions, and, behold, a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth: it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it: and it was diverse from all the beasts that were before it, and it had ten horns.....And the ten horns out of this kingdom are ten kings that shall arise: and another shall arise after them; and he shall be diverse from the first, and he shall subdue three kings. And he shall speak great words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High, and think to change times and laws: and they shall be given into his hand, until a time and times and the dividing of time.

A STATE or kingdom, with its king and nobles and people in their several degrees united into one by ordinances of law and justice, is, without exception, the noblest work of God's providence, and the most fruitful emblem of that glorious kingdom unto which the whole world under his church is at length to come. And for this end, doubtless, were kingdoms permitted by God to form themselves, under the guidance of his own pre-arranging providence, in order that, wherever his Gospel should afterwards come, there might be, in the highest and holiest affections of men,

a language prepared, a form of things present to the sense and understandings and feelings of men, through which the great revelation of the age to come unto this earth might find access to their faith, and establish a seat in their reason and desires. And therefore it was that the people whom he took into covenant grew up unto a kingdom, and had the order of the kingdom described unto them by Samuel, the prophet of the Lord. This was, I allow, a falling away from that better estate, in which God placed them at first, under judges who looked up directly to the oracle of God; whereby the judging and the priestly offices, though separated in the execution, were joined together, and that visibly and manifestly, in the oracle to which they appealed. And even this, as it seemeth to me, was a departure from the still better state which God designed for his chosen people when he spake to them from the top of Sinai the Ten Commandments of the Law; for it is to be observed, that the Levitical ordinance was not given unto Moses till after they had refused to hear the word of the Lord speaking to them without covert, without disguise, without mediation of man or intervention of symbols—in that way in which, perhaps, it will be done during the kingdom of the Lord. But, not to be diverted into this very high speculation, and passing likewise the state of Israel before God gave them a king in his wrath, we observe, that when the kingdom of David and of Solomon was erected, according to the idea given by Samuel the prophet of the Lord, therein was given unto men the best symbol of the kingly office of Christ, in as far as it can be separated and represented apart from his priestly

office: just as in the Levitical priesthood we have the best representation of his priestly office, so far as it can be given apart from his kingly. This kingdom of David and Solomon (for together they do make but one representation of Christ's royal office), is, I say, the true type of what kingdoms ought to be: wherein the king doth, after making peace round about, build the temple of the Lord, and order the service of the house of his God, according to the ordinances of his God. And not only so, but, with harp in hand, and girded with the girdle of one of God's servants, he doth at the head of his people bring up with singing and with dancing the ark of the Lord, and with solemn dedication place it in his house. Now, in falling from this, the great stewardship of kings, consisteth the brutality of those four kingdoms whose mystery we have opened in the several scenes of this vision. It was not in the largeness of dominion, which God himself gave to Nebuchadnezzar his servant; it was not in their calling themselves king of kings, which title, also, God invested Nebuchadnezzar withal: it was not in these ordinances, with which the republican spirit cavilleth, because it cavilleth at that kingdom of Christ which these did represent and shadow out; but it was in their taking unto themselves Divine honours, which belongeth not unto the type, but unto Him that is typified, that the evil lay. And to the end of chastizing in Nebuchadnezzar this hideous usurpation it was, that God made of him a companion of the beasts of the earth, and of the fowls of heaven. Nevertheless they went on, kingdom after kingdom, instead of establishing the worship of the living and true God;

to set themselves up against his sovereign dominion; acting on their own independent authority, and giving themselves out as if they had been the Lord God: and thus the type was turned into the thing typified, and the great end of God was defeated, so far as it can be defeated, by the obstinate wickedness of man. Thus the matter stood until Christ came, when the Jewish nation would no longer stand as the type of the kingdom, and God was preparing to cast the seed of the Gospel more widely over the earth. He established the type of kingdom in the four universal monarchies, which succeeded one another in the vision before us; taking in, as it were, the boundaries of the field appointed for the seed of the kingdom by the hands of Nebuchadnezzar; breaking down its former subdivisions, and levelling it into one vast plain, by the hand of the Medo-Persian; then sending the ploughshare of the Greek throughout it; and finally harrowing it to powder by the Romans; in order that by Christ, the great Sower, the field might be sown with the Gospel, which, in revealing other things, did likewise reveal the mystery of kingdoms and of states.

This revelation, as we have often taught, consisteth in presenting unto us Christ as Lord of all, Prince of the kings of the earth; into whose hands God hath committed the government of all things, visible and invisible. As the Jewish nation at the first was governed by God dwelling between the cherubims and thence speaking by the oracle, which alone the high priest might consult, and make the word known unto the Judge, who straightway proceeded by equity of government and strength of hand to carry it into

effect: so God teacheth in the Gospel unto every creature, and unto kings also, that He dwelling in Christ, and Christ in Him, the God-man upon his right hand is the Ruler of the world, though all unseen and invisible for a time. But from his unseen abode he doth speak in his church, as he hath ever done, words of truth and righteousness, according to which kings should govern and princes decree justice,—That all kings and magistrates upon the face of the earth should shew their dutifulness and allegiance unto Christ, by observing the doctrines which he hath taught concerning God's worship and concerning man's duty. This he putteth in the mouth of the ministers of the Gospel, whose word is to be tried by the written oracles of truth. Hearing, I say, the voice of Christ in the church, never inharmonious with his voice in the word, kings and magistrates are required to govern according thereto, and at no rate to sanction with their approbation, or to permit without censure and blame, those who will in any thing deviate from the orthodox doctrine and wholesome discipline of the true church of the living God. With a high hand, therefore, and an outstretched arm, should believing kings set themselves to the work of governing according to the laws of righteousness which Christ, in God's stead, hath given unto men. And this doctrine concerning government, which is taught in all Protestant churches, which is taught in the New Testament, and laid out at large in the Revelation, which also was shadowed forth from the beginning, did continue to make way and grow apace, until Satan, the great plotter, raised up in

the Pope of Rome, first the pretension to be absolute, supreme, and universal bishop of the church, and Christ's vicar upon the earth: which being granted, it easily came to pass that he should be acknowledged as head of kings; for if he do infallibly speak the word of Christ, and if kings must hear and obey the word of Christ, then is it a necessary consequence that they should hear and obey the Pope, who speaketh that word. His spiritual supremacy in the church being allowed, his temporal supremacy in the state could never be denied. If he have authority over the church, without appeal, without controul, then the church centres in him; and if so, then the kingdom must centre in him also.

Herein, therefore, consisteth the true character of the little horn, as we have shewn forth, in its usurpation of the office and dignity of Christ: to which it struggled up against all opposition, until, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it put all opposition down, and effectually possessed itself of the supremacy in all the ten kingdoms of the Roman part of Europe. These he either forced or persuaded to obey him, in the adoption of all his damnable inventions, of all his abominable superstitions, of all his hideous falsehoods, and infinite impositions upon the church of Christ. They established the Roman apostasy in place of the Christian verity; and so they became responsible for all its wickedness, because God hath placed the magistrate in authority over the priest. Kings, by their constitution, are placed under Christ, and unto Christ are responsible for their power: and if they do yield the prerogative of their high

estate unto the enemy of Christ—that is, the devil—and become kings in their own right; or if they give way to the usurper in Christ's church of Christ's dignity, and permit him to rule over their conscience and the consciences of their people; then do they become guilty in the first degree; and their people become guilty in the second degree, who should have testified to the death rather than come under such a yoke. When I say, testify to the death, I do not mean rising in arms against the power, which can on no account be admitted, but dying the death of confessors and martyrs for the spoiled truth. And when the kings and governments of the ten papal kingdoms had thus by law established, and with all wealth and honour adorned, the abominations of Rome; adopting its doctrines of devils, and permitting its thefts, and its idol worship, and its sorceries, and its murders, and all its fornications (Rev. ix. 20, 22); they did become obedient to the voice of the great words which the little horn spoke: and though at times they might murmur under the yoke, and wince at some of his commands, so torturing to the dignity of crowns and tormenting to the peace of kingdoms—as when he would have them do fealty for their crowns to the Papal see—yet are not these sallies of the brutal nature of the beast to be taken into account, when day by day, year by year, age after age, he submitted to the rule and government of the little horn. The mass went on, with its idolatry; purgatory went on, with its purse-picking knavery; the canon law went on, with its subversion of the magistrate's authority; the monastic orders went

on deluding the people; the holy office of the inquisition, or, in its absence, the corrupted statute-book of the kingdom and the administration of law, went on condemning heretics—that is, suppressing the true doctrine of the Gospel. They made it death to peep or to mutter against the man of Satan's right hand; and what more could they have done, what more ought they to have done, for the Man of God's right hand, than they did for the great Melchizedec of Satan? This was their crying offence, this the head and front of their offending. Of which, before opening a little further the hideousness, it will be necessary that I pursue the subject of our last discourse, and convict the Papacy of identity with the little horn by the fourth and last condition of the question, which is, the period of his dominion over the saints—for "a time and times and the dividing of time." In the examination of which point it will be necessary to shew, first, what is meant by the saints being "given into his hand;" and, secondly, what is meant by the period of "time and times and the dividing of time."

With respect to the former of these questions, there have been taken up by able commentators two views, which I can by no means approve. The first and most common, and one which in our church hath been most ably advocated by a most venerable ancestor of my own, the Rev. Dr. Brice Johnstone, (whose memory is embalmed in the esteem of those who knew him, and in the affection and love of all his kindred), is, that the event signified is the temporal sovereignty or power of the Pope, when he became the beast

of the earth, Rev. xiii. To this I object these things: first, that if it had been so, Daniel would have dated the time, times, and the dividing of time from the event of his plucking up the three horns by the root; and I object, secondly, that, though it be proper to call the Pope a beast, in the sense in which the other is called a beast—as he is called a horn, in the sense in which the others are horns, forasmuch as he had temporal power no less than they—still the date of the period, forty-and-two months, is not given (in the 13th of the Apocalypse) to the beast of the earth, but to the beast from the sea; and, I think, for the very end of guarding against the error into which these commentators have fallen, of connecting his time either with his generic character as a horn, or beast of power. Besides these two insurmountable objections, I have further to observe, that if they argue that he had not power against the saints but by virtue of his temporal estate as a sovereign; then in this capacity he did not acquire power over the saints of the ten kingdoms until the time of Hildebrande, or rather until after the wars of the Guelphs and Ghibbelines: for, though he had power in the states of the church over the saints, he did not acquire that temporal power over them elsewhere until that great controversy was ended. I argue, therefore, that this question cannot be rested upon his temporal dominion as a sovereign, but upon his dominion over the saints as the head of the church, from whose judgment there was no appeal. When he received from the competent authority—that is, the authority of the chief magistrate—power over the faith of the church, and over all ecclesiastical questions thence aris-

ing; that is the time, and that is the event, surely, to which the prophecy refers. Perceiving this, others have argued that the event here signified is the supremacy, or the Pope's making good to himself the title of universal bishop: and because, in various councils in Justinian's time, and after his time, this title was refused to him, and the Patriarch of Constantinople actually preferred to him in dignity; and because St. Gregory, in the beginning of the seventh century, hath, as is set forth above, declared, that to assume that title is to speak one's self the Antichrist; they allege, that before this time the event sought for could not have taken place, but some years after, in the time of Phocas, when the title of universal bishop was accorded to the bishop of Rome. But, in opposition to all this, it sufficeth to say one thing: that it is not power over the saints in universal Christendom, but power over the saints in the ten horns, that is in question. The horn riseth amongst the ten horns, and it is his doings amongst the ten horns that is described. He doth not arise until the ten horns have arisen, or have begun to arise. This is intended to separate him, as a person, wholly from the Eastern empire and the Greek church. The Eastern empire and the Greek church within its bounds were destined to shew forth quite another mystery of God's providence,—the mystery of an imposture, not of an apostasy; of an imposture arising out of the spirit of heresy and denial of the truth; the other, of an apostasy arising from wedding the truth to a worldly spirit: the one shewing what becometh of the church when she denieth Christ; the other, what becometh of the church when she weddeth herself to the world. And let me observe,

in passing, that this is the reason why the Mohammedan imposture, described in the ninth of the Apocalypse, and the infidelity described in the seventeenth, and referred to also in the fourth, are both said to arise out of the bottomless pit; because the one and the other of these two arise from the rejection of Christ and the denial of his truth; the one being like a swarm of locusts under a king, to waste and to destroy; the other, being like a beast, to consolidate the body of an empire, and attempt great things against the Most High. Moreover, the Mohammedan imposture is contained in the next chapter of Daniel, and deriveth itself from the territory of the Greek kingdom. But this seventh chapter belongs to the beast of the Roman kingdom, and the mystery of the little horn belongs to the Western or ten-horned division and state of that kingdom; and therefore the question is, not when the bishop of Rome became universal bishop over both East and West, but when he became head over the churches within the bounds of the ten kingdoms: and, therefore, the stride which the Pope made in the time of Phocas is as little to the purpose as the stride which he made in the time of Charlemagne, or that which he made in the time of Hildebrande. And so much for these two opinions, which we disallow.

And now with respect to the true view of this point, it is to be discovered in the express language of the prophecy itself: "He shall wear out the saints of the Most High....and they shall be given into his hand, until time, times, and the dividing of time."—Who are "the saints of the Most High?" I have already said, they were the

Jews, under the circumcision; and now the Christians, under the baptismal covenant—that is, the church, as distinguished from the state; between which two there is a barrier, there is an impassable gulf, till Christ shall come; which to have dared to bridge over, and make them one, is the most damnable crime of the apostasy. The state may, by its own free will, come into the church—and this is establishment; and the state, at its free will, may remain out of the church—and this is no establishment; or, having come in, it may go out again—and this is the apostasy of the state: and these three are the only possible ways in which the state may stand: but, being the superior, in whichever it standeth, it standeth by an act of its own will; having the promises of God and the providence of Christ, if it stand in the church; and having his threatenings, if it apostatize; and neither the one nor the other, but his uncovenanted government, if it stand altogether out. But for the church, she continueth as little altered by the king, and all his peers, and all his servants, and all his subjects, entering into her, than if a private family had but entered in. She altereth nothing of her doctrine, she abridgeth nothing of her discipline, she changeth nothing in her dutiful subjection unto Christ her Head, nor in her subjection unto the powers that be, which are ordained of God. The power over the saints, therefore, is possessed by Christ only, as Head of the church; the magistrate hath power over them, not as saints, but as citizens and subjects. When therefore they are given out of Christ's hand into the hand of another, it must signify that another hath been permitted of God to receive that power which

belongeth to Christ only;—permitted, I mean, in his wrath; "for is there evil in the city, and the Lord hath not done it?" permitted in his judgment upon them for their unfaithfulness to their covenant, and their undutifulness to Christ their Head. Therefore, after his long-suffering is worn out, as it was heretofore with the Jewish nation, he doth unto them as he did unto the Jewish nation—that is, he giveth them into the hands of another king than that Prince of peace whom they would not have to rule over them. This we believe to be the true mystery of the little horn,—that he is to the people of the new covenant the same oppressor which Nebuchadnezzar was to the people of the old covenant. Wherefore also it is called Babylon, or the prison of God's church: and this also for the same reason, because they had, since the time of Constantine, begun to affect the state and splendour of power, instead of expecting till the coming of the Lord.

I do not mean by this to impugn the act of Constantine in establishing the church, which I believe to have been the beginning of God's actings against the enemies of Christ, whereof the first was paganism; and therefore I do the rather devoutly contemplate it, as the first great achievement of our King. A hard thing indeed it were, and most unbeseeming royal dignity and power, if a king might not in his estate do that which any nobleman or master doth in his, when he says, that all his servants shall fear the Lord, observe the ordinances of his worship, keep holy the Sabbath, and walk according to his precepts and commandments. And a very foolish and wicked thing were it, for me, or

any preacher of God's verity, to say unto the heads of families, that they might not so enforce obedience to the Gospel law within their house, because it will place temptations to hypocrisy in the way of their servants. The answer to all such quibbles is, I must save my own soul; I must discharge myself of my own responsibility unto the Lord, whose steward I am. And so must every king: he must save his own soul, by ordering that estate which God hath given him in charge according to the ordinances of the kingdom of Christ, who is Prince of the kings of the earth. Therefore do I deem that Constantine performed a right dutiful and a right godly act, when he established Christianity as the religion of the empire; whereby, no doubt, the church of Christ was led into temptation, just as the Church of Scotland and Church of England are led into temptation by being established in their several estates. But is it a new doctrine, that God leadeth his people into temptation, that his mighty power may be glorified in them over all his enemies? or is it not the old doctrine, contained in the Lord's Prayer, "Lead us not into temptation?" And here it may be said, 'Well, then; and ought not the church to pray against the temptation of being established by secular princes?' To that I answer, that, if it hath proved a temptation to the church to be established, or to have the power upon its side, it hath proved the destruction of the Reformed churches of Spain, Italy, France, and the Netherlands, to have the power set in array against them; while it hath proved the salvation of the Protestant faith in this island to have had the power on its side, although, doubtless, not without a temptation.

But, ah me! how shall we escape temptation in this wicked world? And though, in acknowledgment of our weakness, we pray to be preserved from that to which we so often yield, and to have from God as mild a measure of trial as may be consistent with his own purpose; yet we do never look to be out of the fire of temptation, until we are delivered from the militant state of the church. Nay, but the church is not her own mistress in this matter, so as to refuse to receive into her communion a man because he is a king; and if that man, who is a king, take on the profession of Christ, he cannot withhold, he must not withhold, from ordering his household according to the ordinances of Christ; and if he do withhold, the preacher of the Gospel must tell him out his duty, as did Knox and Latimer in the days of old.

When Constantine, therefore, established Christianity in his house, and ordered the estate of his kingdom according to the discipline of Christ, he did a most noble and praise-worthy act of sovereign power, which ought to have been a pattern unto all kings which should come after. Yet it is not to be doubted, that from this time forth began, or rather advanced with more rapid strides, that spirit of courtly flattery and episcopal ambition, of avarice and worldly dignity, which in the course of two centuries vexed the Lord to that degree that, weary of resisting, he gave them up to the lust of their own minds; constituting over them a king of that mongrel kind, half prince half priest, which they strove after in the wickedness of their hearts. Yet did he not so give up his people into the hands of a bloody lord, until after he had tried them with

manifold chastisements and scourges of the wrathful sword. He unstripped their idol, the emperor, of his imperial robes; he curtailed him of his dominion; he dispossessed him of his city—all, if it were possible, to make the church cease from her idolatry. He even, before turning his hand against her, for a long, long season tried her with the flaming sword of Arian persecutions; and again and again humbled the Bishop whom Satan was meditating to promote, now by the hand of the emperor himself, and now by the hand of the Arian nations. But when, at length, nothing would serve them but their own desire; and when indeed nothing could preserve the faith but that canopy of a dungeon and prison-house—as men flee into the caves of the earth when both their houses and their strong-holds have failed them—so, when the realms of light no longer served as a safe dwelling-place to religion, God immured it in the hiding-place of the Papacy, until the evil time should pass away; which is a mystery that would be somewhat hard to be understood, had we not in this very island, and at this very time, some exemplification of it. The Church of Scotland is a church constituted all in light; the Church of England is a church where the same truths are under the shadow of many forms and worldly ordinances. The effect hath been, that for two centuries Scotland hath possessed a truly enlightened people, England, a people very much in darkness. But now, behold, when the light hath become impregnated, if I may so speak, with the infection of infidelity, Unitarianism, science of visible things, and false philosophy of utility, it may come to pass that

religion will be fain to flee out of the polluted light, and seek its shelter once more, perhaps, in the cloistered twilight of outward forms, and the worldly defences of a more powerful establishment. This is a very curious subject of thought, which I cannot here pursue; and the thing is not peculiar to religion, but was fulfilled of literature, and of poetry also, which had in like manner, during the same age, to seek their shelter from open day in the sequestration and seclusion of the cloister and the cell. And, methinks, what I said of religion in these times, doth apply equally to her daughters, philosophy, poetry, morality, policy and law, and other the sciences of the invisible; which in these times are confessedly about to give up the ghost, through the infection of that garish, gaudy light in which they have lived these many years. So that, unless men will again betake themselves to the sequestration and seclusion of their studies, and endeavour to feel the spirit which our poet hath depicted in the "Il Penseroso," and forego the spirit which he hath depicted in the "l'Allegro," the temples will be profaned, the universities desecrated, the halls of justice polluted, the houses of parliament befooled, and the palace and the throne and the majesty of the king treated as the gewgaws of a vain and idle and frivolous people. These thoughts help me to understand a little the mystery of God in giving up the orthodox half of Christendom into the hands of the little horn, and immuring it in the donjon-keep of Babylon; while he gave up the heretical half of Christendom unto the sword of "the king of a fierce countenance, who understandeth dark sentences."—So much have I

to say, with respect to the event signified by the words "they shall be given into the hand of the little horn." And now we come to speak of the second thing included under this part of the question, which is, What is meant by the expression, "time, times, and the dividing of time?"

2. Concerning the meaning of this expression, there can be no doubt that it is intended to define the period of the dominion of the little horn; and therefore that it is an enumeration of a symbolical kind, concerning which, our first endeavour must be to obtain what insight the Scripture affordeth us. And, first, we must endeavour to ascertain what period is signified by "a time." Now, I think the natural sense of men (and symbolical language especially appealeth to natural sense) would say, that a time must mean, either a day or a year; a revolution of the sun from his rising to his rising again, or a revolution of the seasons from one point of the year to the same point again. And I think that natural good sense would say, moreover, that of these two, the latter is the more likely to be the meaning of a time: for days are too numerous and rapid in their passage to be designated by the generic name of a time. The generic name is applied to that which includes the rest. Life, takes in childhood and youth and middle age and old age, which are but seasons of the former. So time, we should expect, ought to include days and weeks and months, and years too, if years also went to compose some complete portion of time which men are wont to observe and reckon by. But, seeing the various cycles of time which contain a number

of years are rarely known to any but the learned, and to them only in an advanced state of science, it were beside the office of a popular writer, and still more beside the purpose of a writer by emblems which address the commonest faculty of sense and sight, to use such learned divisions of time, whereof the common people are altogether ignorant and inobservant. Therefore I say, that, the generic term *time* being used, any man of sound understanding would say, it must mean a year. Then, if time be a year, times, as being the simplest plural, he would say, is two years; and the dividing of time, as being the simplest division, he would say, is half a year. This, also, is the way in which simple nations reckon unto this day, and which is found at the root of the words by which all nations reckon. We would say, therefore (and thus far, we believe, there is little or no difference of opinion), that "time, times, and the dividing of time," meaneth three years and a half. To confirm this conclusion from the book of Daniel, let us direct our attention to the only two passages where the word "times" occurreth. And, first, in the vision of Nebuchadnezzar's humiliation from his throne, it is said (iv. 25), "they shall drive thee from men, and thy dwelling shall be with the beasts of the field, and they shall make thee to eat grass as oxen, and they shall wet thee with the dew of heaven, and seven times shall pass over thee, till thou know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will." Now, to put it beyond doubt that the times here spoken of are not days, but years, it is said,

(verse 33) that this excommunication from human kind endured till his hairs were grown like eagles' feathers, and his nails like birds' claws, which is a natural effect not to be produced in an interval of seven days, or seven weeks, or seven months, but seven years only. The next passage of Daniel in which the very period in question again occurreth, is in the exposition of the vision of the infidel kings; where (chapter xii. verse 7) it is written, that the things in that vision should last for "a time, times, and a half," that is, it covereth and includeth the duration of this vision of the little horn. Now, Daniel, desiring further light as to the time of that vision, receives two other periods, given in days; of which the one is 1290, the other 1335; numbers so disproportionate from three days and a half, as wholly to put it out of the question that by the "time, times, and a half," are meant three days and a half. But if, as we have concluded on other grounds, they be three years and a half; and each year, for reasons which we shall see in the sequel, be twelve months of thirty days each; then have we a good reason for giving the additional periods in an exact number of days; because the thirty and the forty-five days, by which they overpass the 1260 of the former periods, being truly no simple division of a time, could not in that form be expressed. But this question, concerning the exact import of a "time," is put beyond all doubt when we examine the Apocalypse, where, in the corresponding vision of the ten-horned beast (chapter xiii.) it is given (verse 5) as forty-and-two months; and in the

vision immediately preceding (chapter xii.) it is given, first (ver. 6) as 1260 days, and then (ver. 14) the same event and duration is given as a "time, times, and half a time;" which, without entering into the question whether it is the same period or not with this in Daniel, doth sufficiently prove that these times are each 360 days. Moreover, in the vision of the two witnesses (chapter xi.) the same period is described, first (verse 2), as forty-and-two months, and then (ver. 11) as 1260 days; and an inferior period, when this is accomplished, as three days and a half (ver. 9). So that there is all the difference between three times and a half and three days and a half, which there is between 1260 days and three and a half days.

Be it so, then, that the signification of "time, times, and the dividing of time," is a year, two years, and half a year; the next question which occurreth is, Are these literal years, or not? For it is to be observed, that in what hath been said above we have not been translating the symbol, but merely considering what the symbol is; as it were, deciphering the hieroglyphic, but not interpreting it. Now this question, whether these are literal times, or symbolical of some larger time, is a question which admitteth of an easy solution. Is the language of the vision symbolical, or is it not? Is that a horn, which is called a horn; and is that a beast, which is called a beast; and is that a rib, which is called a rib? No one will assert such a thing. If, then, the rest of the language be symbolical, why should not the period be symbolical also? To interpret this literally and the rest symbolically, is surely the most gratuitous

of all possible assumptions. In the above vision, of Nebuchadnezzar's excommunication from his kind—which is a literal, or at most a figurative, but not an emblematical vision—it would be as improper to interpret the "seven times" emblematically, as it would be in this place to interpret them literally. I say nothing of the great drift and current of all the foregoing argument forcing us into the conclusion that this little horn is the Pope, whose dominion was certainly not limited to three literal years and a half, because I would rest my argument concerning these times upon its own foundation. If, then, we may not, without offence to all sound principles of interpretation, take the rest of this vision, and of the visions in the xith, xiith, and xiiith chapters of the Apocalypse, symbolically, and interpret the period only literally, the question is, By what rule or method shall we discover the thing symbolized by a time? If it be answered to this, that the period occurs not in the vision but in the interpretation, I answer, that in the Apocalypse it is always introduced into the heart of symbolical visions, and never into the interpretations. Now I think the Lord himself hath given us the principle upon which this is to be done, in the fourth chapter of Ezekiel; where he is giving a sign, or symbol, by means of the Prophet, unto the house of Israel and the house of Judah; which is, that he should take a tile, or tablet, and pourtray upon it the siege of Jerusalem. This done, he was to lay himself upon one side 390 days for Israel, and on the other side 40 days for Judah; setting the while his face, and making bare his arm, against the siege of the city which

he had pourtrayed. And for the interpretation of the time in this symbol, the Lord himself addeth, verse 6th, "I have appointed thee each day for a year:" that is to say, that the time for bearing the iniquity of Israel, whatever may be signified thereby, is 390 years; and the time for bearing the iniquity of Judah, is 40 years. Now, as it is not the use of the Lord to explain things dark and mysterious frequently, but always to give such a key as, by the help of providence and the Holy Spirit, will in due time open the mystery—as Daniel had nowhere, but the books of Jeremiah, out of which to discover the duration of the captivity;—so are we not to grudge that we have no other than this exposition of a time-symbol, but rather to be glad that we have one so distinct and explicit. Let it be understood, therefore, upon the authority of God, that in a symbolical prophecy a day standeth for a year. And what can be more natural, than that a smaller complete revolution should be a symbol of a greater complete revolution of the sun?—just as the destruction of a wild beast in the vineyard of a man, is a symbol of the destruction of a brutal violent kingdom in the vineyard and inheritance of the Son of man: just as Adam in a garden, in the midst of the unreplenished, uncultured earth, is a type of the Second Adam, with his wife the church in him, reigning in the garden of this redeemed world, in the midst of a universe about to be replenished and cultivated by the fruitful communion and government, and his spouse, the elect church. And, indeed, as all types whatever are but small representations of the things they

typify; so, I say, let it be, upon God's authority and the reasonableness of the thing, allowed, that a day, or small complete measure of time, is the symbol of a year, and we come at once to the conclusion, that the "time, times, and half a time," or the forty and-two months, or the 1260 days—which we have seen to be all alike symbolically used, in symbolical visions, indifferently for one another—becometh 1260 years; which is the conclusion to which, I may say, the most part of the exact and reputable interpreters of prophecy have come.

Having settled these two questions, and ascertained that this act of God, whereby he giveth the saints into the hand of the little horn, is the act of his constituting, or permitting to be constituted by Satan, a false head over the church, in the person of the little horn, with power to lead them into captivity, and distress them with oppression, for a time, times, and half a time; and having ascertained that this time, times, and half a time, is an emblematical period of 1260 literal years; we come next to shew, that for such a term of years the Pope did exercise that wicked supremacy whereof we have spoken. It hath been well argued by many in these latter years, that the headship or supremacy of the Pope commenced in the celebrated acts of Justinian, immediately preceding the invasion of the West by Belisarius; because, First, these edicts established him as the head of all the Latin churches; from whose judgment, in matters of doctrine and discipline, there lay no appeal. Secondly, because these acts were embodied in the code of

Justinian, occupying the very head of the roll of laws, as if to signify that the Pope, to whom they gave power, was for the future to rule the ascendant of the Roman empire; and being there embodied in the civil code, which hath been the law of almost all the ten kingdoms ever since, they were established fundamentally and finally, never to be removed, until the period of 1260 years was concluded. And it is worthy of remark in this place, that no new code of laws was from that time given to the western part of the empire, until the infidel power arose in Napoleon, who set himself straightway to change laws by the Code Napoleon, as also to change times by dating from the very year which brought the 1260 to its termination. Thirdly, because these acts of Justinian were accompanied with a great military demonstration, first under Belisarius, and then under Narses, which bore back from Africa and Italy the tide of barbarous nations, who threatened with their Arian doctrines to bring in a heretical instead of an apostate condition of the church. This was prevented by the achievements of these two great Imperial generals, to whom the ancient Roman valour and conduct was given by God for this great end. And this check availed until the time that Charlemagne arose to give a new feature and impulse to the Papacy, by conferring upon it territorial possessions, as hath been set forth above. On these accounts we do not hesitate to agree with the able interpreters of these times, who have argued this point more at length than we can do in this place. For further arguments upon this subject, we refer to our little work, entitled "Ba-

bylon and Infidelity foredoomed."—These edicts were issued in March 533, and immediately acted upon. Perhaps, in this place, it may be necessary to shew, briefly, the revolution which now commenced in the character of the Papacy.

From the year of our Lord 70, until the time that Constantine the Great established Christianity as the religion of the state, the bishops of Rome, in number thirty-two, had in general borne themselves faithfully in their office of preachers and ministers of the church of Christ, and many of them patiently endured death for the sake of his Gospel. During all this period, more than 200 years, they were without any court, any council of cardinals, any guard of soldiers, or any thing else pertaining to Papal dignity and power, which they have since usurped. And for the name of "Pope," it was common in these times to them with other bishops notable for their reputation of holiness or the dignity of their sees; as Cyprian of Carthage, Ambrose of Milan, and Augustine bishop of Hippo, whom St. Jerome calleth Pope St. Augustine. The word signifies *father*, and ought to be a common characteristic, though not the name (Matt. xxiii.), of a pastor or shepherd. In the Council of Nice, held by authority and in presence of Constantine, there were passed certain decrees, or canons, to the effect that the Bishop of Alexandria should be superintendant of the churches of Africa; the Bishop of Antioch, of those of Asia; and the Bishop of Rome, of those of Europe; and I have no hesitation in saying, that this canon formed the ground of the Papal usurpations. But the Coun-

cil of Nice was very careful, at the same time, not to permit these superintending bishops to innovate in any matter, either of doctrine or of discipline in the church. The canon is in these words: "Let ancient customs prevail: as, for instance; those in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, let the Bishop of Alexandria have power over all these, since the same is customary for the Bishop of Rome. Likewise in Antioch, and other provinces, let the privileges be secured to the church. This is manifest, if any thing at all, that if any be made a bishop without consent of his metropolitan, this great synod has determined that such an one ought not to be a bishop. If any two or three, out of affectation of dispute, do contradict the suffrage of the generality when duly passed according to ecclesiastical canon, let the voices of the majority prevail." To shew that this was merely such a power as is given to the metropolitans of the English church and the superintendants of the Scottish church, nothing more is needed than to quote the following canon of the same council: "Saving to the metropolis its proper dignity, let the Bishop of Œlia have the next place of precedence, because custom and ancient tradition have obtained that he should be honoured." And, further to shew the limitation of this prerogative, or rather precedency, it is enacted in the fourth canon, that "A bishop ought to be constituted by all the bishops that belong to the province; but if this be not practicable, by reason of urgent necessity or the length of the way, three must by all means meet together; and when they have the consent of those that

are absent, signified by letter, then let them perform the ordination; and the ratification of what is done must be allowed to the metropolitan in every province." And in the fifth canon, all excommunication and discipline take place by the act of the bishops in each province, that is, along with their several presbyters and deacons: and for the review of these sentences, lest they should have been passed "through some pet, or heat, or want of temper in the bishop," it is required that synods meet twice a year in every province: "Let sentence prevail according to the canon, with charges that they who are excommunicated by some be not received by others; but let inquiry be made, whether men are not excommunicated through some pet, or heat, or want of temper in the bishop. That, therefore, this may not miss of being duly examined, it seems good that synods meet twice a year in every province; that, all the bishops of every province being publicly assembled together, such sort of disputes be examined; and, so, they who have notoriously offended the bishop may be judged to be excommunicated with good reason by all, till the community of bishops think to pass a more favourable sentence in their behalf." These canons I have thought it good to quote from this most famous council, in order to shew you how far the Bishop of Rome had advanced about the year 430, when this council was held, and how narrow was the ground of that precedency upon which, in two centuries, he was able to found the supremacy. From the time of the Council of Nice, forward till the time of Justinian, various

councils were held, being always convened by the authority of the emperors, and never by the authority of the Popes: of which councils we may observe, in general, as of that of Nice, it is remarkable, on the one hand, how they were enabled by the Spirit of God to defend the orthodox faith; and, on the other hand, how they were left to slide gently and gradually into the adoption and recognition of human traditions and superstitious customs; that of Nice condemning Arianism; that of Constantinople, the heresy of Eunomius; that of Ephesus, the heresy of Nestorius; that of Chalcedon, the heresy of Eutyches; and that in which St. Austin was present maintaining the doctrines of original sin, of grace, and of justification;—yet side by side with these solemn verities grew up the superstitions of religious vows, and the forbidding of second marriages, and indeed, in some cases, of marriages altogether; shewing us the difference between the growth of heresy and the growth of apostasy. During this time, the invasion of the barbarous nations, by destroying all domestic peace, and sweeping away all dignities and honours of government, gave occasion to pious and peaceable men to seek in solitude and in celibacy that quiet and freedom from perturbation which was no longer to be found in the activity and business of the world; having, no doubt, some sort of ground for the same in the holy Scriptures, and especially in the writings of Paul. And from this arose the multiplication of monks, and the rage for a hermit's life, which in due time the Popes learned so well to take advantage of. All things, therefore, were working to-

gether towards a great revolution in the Christian church; but not until the time of Justinian was the Pope permitted to usurp to himself any thing more than had been yielded to him in the Council of Nice. But still, in the midst of the heresies which overspread the West, and the sufferings which he endured for the orthodox doctrine; likewise because he was seated in Rome, the metropolis of the West, and had by the Council of Nice, and even before it, been endowed with the metropolitan precedency; it came to pass that he was generally regarded and looked up to as the great rallying point of the hopes of the orthodox churches. Now Justinian, being minded to undertake a very hazardous and to all appearance a very unpromising, expedition against the heretics, and underlying some suspicions of heresy himself, saw it as a great stroke of policy, for wiping away those suspicions and ingratiating himself with all the orthodox, whom the barbarians had oppressed, to throw into the hands of the Bishop of Rome this power over the faith and conscience of the Latin churches, that he might turn the war into a war of religion, and save it from being regarded as a war of imperial ambition. This, we believe, was the secret spring of those famous acts which accomplished the purpose of God, signified by the mouth of Daniel the Prophet, that he would give the saints, or church, into the hands of the little horn, for "a time, times, and half a time."

Observe, now, from henceforth, with what rapid strides the Papacy came on. For a while Italy was so disturbed, and I may say convulsed and desolated with blood, and Rome so often in a

state of siege and barbarous possession, that men had enough to do to provide for the safety and the means of life: but in the course of sixty years, when Pope Gregory took the Papal chair, things proceeded with a mighty pace. He fixed those things which had been floating in the spirit of the times; establishing the service and invocation of saints, and the dedication to them of chapels and of altars; likewise the value of the monastic life, and of human traditions, contrary to the word of God; canonical satisfactions or fines, vows, and celibacy, which he imposed upon the deacons of Sicily, and would, if he had been able, have made universal. At the same time arose the opinion of the oblation of the body and blood of Jesus Christ for the dead: whence proceeded a horrible profanation of the sacrament, which Gregory promoted, by giving currency to the reports of apparitions. Indeed, the Papacy made such strides in the person of Gregory—who, towards the end of his pontificate, contrived to obtain that title of universal bishop which, in the beginning, he had so reprobated—that many, misled by these tokens, have placed here the beginning of that period. But they weigh not sufficiently, that it is not an usurpation which is spoken of by the prophet, but an actual giving. Hundreds of years before this, usurpations of the like kind had been attempted; but it is not to these that we are called to give heed, but to the actual giving of the right and title unto the Pope, out of his hands who had the right and title to give. Now, he who hath power to give on earth, is the person to whom Christ hath delegated power—that is, the

sovereign of the state—and this solemn act did Justinian for the Pope of his time, and he enrolled it in the laws of the empire; which laws Gregory, finding established, acted upon, and laid the basis of the Papal power, for which they call him Great. In like manner, when this period terminated, in the year 1792, it was not immediately that the mighty genius was raised up who should give consistency and activity and power to the infidel spirit which then went forth. It always happeneth that the crisis is a season of tumult, terror, and confusion; and not until the storm hath passed away doth the true character of the change appear. Thus it hath been in all great revolutions, but most remarkably in these two,—when the spirit of brutal power, which had ruled from the time of Nebuchadnezzar, over the vineyard of God's church, changed for the spirit of spiritual or priestly usurpation in the time under consideration, and when the spirit of Papal usurpation changed, in the times in which we now live, for the spirit of infidel destruction. And let this suffice for the account of the epoch in which the period of "time, times, and half a time" did open its direful burden upon the church.

Thus have we brought to a conclusion this other part of our great subject, which is the identification of the little horn with the Pope of Rome. The question, who is the little horn, we have examined first, in its conditions, independent of all theory and interpretation. These conditions we laid down: First, that he was to arise after, or behind, and amongst, the other horns:

Secondly, that he was to be diverse from them, by his eyes and mouth—that is, that he was to add to the temporal power of the horn, the ecclesiastical character of the eye, and the prophetical or ministerial character of the mouth: Thirdly, that his political actions were to be, first, supremacy, or dominion over the other horns; and, secondly, plucking up by the roots three of them: while his spiritual actings were to be, first, blasphemies against God; and, secondly, warfare against the saints. In all these respects having tried and proved the identity of the little horn with the Pope, we then proceeded to try this question by the Fourth and last condition, which is, the period of his dominion over the saints, expressed thus: "They shall be given into his hand until a time and times and the dividing of time." In the examination of which point we have shewn, first, what is meant by the saints being given into his hand, to be worn out, and to be made war upon; and, secondly, what is meant by "time, times, and the dividing of time." Now, with respect to the former of these points, which is the giving of the saints into his hand, two opinions have been taken up by commentators, which we considered as by no means to be approved: the first, that the time is to be dated from the Pope's attaining a temporal sovereignty, in the time of Charlemagne or his father; the second, that it is to be dated from the time of his being created universal bishop, in the reign of Phocas, the Emperor of the East. At the same time, while we rejected these two hypotheses, as not fulfilling the conditions of the question, we have brought forward, and justified

from all objections, the period of Justinian's famous decrees, passed in the year 533, in order to give all the churches of the Western empire into the hands of the Pope of Rome, without any appeal. From which time, reckoning onward 1260 years, or "a time, times, and half a time," during which the saints were given into the hands of the little horn—always bearing in mind, that in the Scriptures, and indeed all over the earth unto this day, they always include, in any number of days or years, that day or year which is running—we come to the year 1792: at the end of which—that is, six months of the 1260th year being run—we arrive at the famous era of the French Revolution. And from this time we should expect to find the saints delivered out of the hand of the Papacy, under which they had been so long oppressed: for it is manifest, from the 21st and 22d verses, that there is no interval of time between the domination of the little horn and the beginning of his judgments; and that he is stopped and interrupted in his oppression of the saints by a judgment coming upon him: "I beheld, and the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them; *until* the Ancient of days came, and judgment was given to the saints of the Most High; and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom." (Dan. vii. 21, 22.) We ought, therefore, now, in the progress of our discourse, to consider and treat of this judgment, which is thus described in the 9th and 10th verses: "I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool: his throne was like the fiery

flame, and his wheels as burning-fire: A fiery stream issued, and came forth from before him: thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the judgment was set, and the books were opened." But this we defer to a future discourse, and now proceed to our improvement.

1. The first lesson which I derive from the subject of this night's discourse, is the guilt of kings in delivering up their people, especially the saints, into the hands of the little horn. Kings are by God entrusted with the well-being of their people in all respects whatsoever. They are expected to be the fathers of their people, yea, even the nursing fathers and the nursing mothers of the church. To defend the poor and fatherless, to do justice to the afflicted and needy, to deliver the poor and needy, to rid them out of the hand of the wicked; these are the high functions of a king. To aid him in the fulfilment of which, he draweth unto his side the wisest counsellors, the most upright judges, the most valiant men of war, which his kingdom containeth: and that he may know what the mind of his people is, and the better devise things profitable to the common weal, he calleth together men chosen from amongst themselves: and thus every thing proceeds with a view to the protection of the people, of all the people, high and low, great and small, from intestine disturbance and from outward invasion. Moreover, a Christian king, who by his baptism hath acknowledged Jesus of Nazareth to be the Anointed of God, the Lord of all, the Prince of the kings of the earth, doth in that solemn act submit himself to be taught by Christ

in all which respects the fulfilment of his high and holy office: and, seeing Christ speaketh in the word, and actuateth the church, a Christian king, becoming a member of the church, doth surely look to be guided in the fulfilment of his office by Christ speaking in his church. And, such a king doth govern according to the laws of God, according to the Spirit of Christ, with a diligent ear unto the church of Christ. Christ, in the word and in the church, is the king's teacher; and, being thus taught, the king by means of wise and faithful men doth execute the mind of God for the well-being of all the people. This is the indefeasible duty of a king.

Observe now how this is violated by admitting the pretensions of the Pope, and what the guilt of such a violation is. To let the Pope in upon a kingdom, is to let the wolf into the fold; and the king is like the shepherd who openeth the door for the wolf to come in; for kings are shepherds of the people. If, as I have proved out of his own mouth, the Pope be verily the devil-possessed beast, then, to give him any say whatever in the kingdom is truly to give a say unto the devil himself; to surrender into the devil's hand part of the people, for whose defence and government God hath set a king over them, and taught him out of his word, and enabled him to acknowledge Christ. This guilt was incurred by all the ten kingdoms of Europe: least of all, indeed, by this kingdom, which for a long time resisted the encroachments of the Pope; but in the time of John, and of the two Henrys of the house of Lancaster, these kings, to strengthen a bad title to the crown, did take help from the Pope, and introduce the statute of burning the

heretics. When, however, God in his good providence put it into the hearts of our kings to call for a Reformation of the church, and to denude the Pope of all power over the subjects of the kingdom, this guilt began to be wiped away, and our king came once more to stand up as the representative of Christ in the midst of the land. It is true, and never to be denied, that at the beginning of the Reformation both the church and the kingdom proved, by their acts of persecution, that they were not at once clean delivered from the leaven of the Papacy. The duty of a king is like unto the office of Christ, which is full of loving-kindness unto all. The duty of a king is like unto God's providence, which is gracious unto all, though it bear a preference to the righteous. The duty of a king is like Christ's present government of the world, which is long-suffering unto all, the Papacy not excepted. Therefore a king should not draw the sword against the Jew or the Papist, or even the Infidel, if so be that they violate not the laws in the exercise of their false principles. He is the father of his people, who should be grieved in his heart that any of his children forsake the right way; and he should do all he can, by means of faithful preachers and good teachers, by means of an established church and an established system of schools, to train up all, young and old, in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; loving all his people: as God loveth all men, neither willeth that they should perish, but that they should come to the knowledge of the truth. And the church, in her love to God, in her preaching of the Gospel to all, in her earnest desire for the salvation of all,

should continually teach and shew forth this lesson unto the king, and the king's councillors, senators, sheriffs, judges, and magistrates. But when it so fared that the church, misunderstanding the great doctrine of election, and misusing the great principle of discipline—which is love, and not judgment—did shew cruelty to those that were lapsed out of the way; torturing their spirits by confession, and their bodies by inquisitorial discipline; imprisoning their persons, and finally cutting them off by the devouring flame;—when thus the church did misuse discipline, and, instead of a mother weeping and mourning over her children, performed the part of a cruel executioner—as did the Church of Rome from the time of the establishment of the Inquisition, and long before indeed, but then upon a system—it came to pass, that, through her assumed supremacy over kings, she did instil the same poisonous and rancorous spirit into the bosom of sovereigns, and teach them to be cruel unto their people; to murder their people in cold blood, if in any thing they dared to differ from the mind of "the man of sin," whose mind is the mind of the devil, and whosé words are blasphemies against the Most High. See ye not then, my beloved brethren, how the character of a king, the piety of a king, the equity, the mercy of a king, was turned by the instilled poison of Rome into all bitterness, all murder, all blasphemy? Now, when the constitutions both of the church and of the kingdom had been so corrupted in the very core, it was not to be expected that they should all at once recover the sweetness and beauty and health of their first constitution: and accordingly,

coming out of that damnable Papacy, the Reformers, without one exception (unless I may except Luther himself, prince of them all), did think it their duty to teach kings to persecute, even unto death, those who adopted heretical doctrines and schismatical practices: which also was done, both by the advice of Zuinglius in Zurich, and by the advice of Calvin in Geneva, and by the advice of Cranmer in England: and how much it was done by the advice of, or at least with the connivance of, the Church of England, to the children of the Scottish Church, during the reigns of the second Charles and the second James, I would rather hide than expose,—yet let it never be forgotten, that these kings were Papists in their hearts, and mostly under the influence of Papal counsels. But these spots, which appeared upon the Reformation, soon died away through the neighbourhood of light, and brought no evil of any amount. The kings of this reformed land sought the eternal salvation and present prosperity of their Papal subjects through the ministry of the church, and not through the sword of persecution; and the Church of England and the Church of Scotland, as you will see, in all their canons and constitutions were at infinite pains to impress it, yea, and impose it, upon all the parish ministers, to travail and deal with every Papist within their bounds by argument and by instruction and by loving-kindness, and to report the number and circumstances of them unto the superior and supreme authorities in the church. This tender dealing, this ministry of the Gospel, was, and is, the only severities which the Papists of England and Scotland have had to complain of; and such

severity is love: it is the love of the teacher, who instructs the ignorant; it is the love of the shepherd, who gathers the wanderers back into the fold; it is the love of the father, who rebukes his erring children. I speak not at present with respect to the penal laws of Ireland, which were abrogated some thirty or forty years ago, and which are to be considered, not as of the genius of British government, but as chastisement inflicted upon an ever-rebellious people, until they should learn due obedience to the powers that be: and such chastisements I hold it to be the right of any Christian kingdom to impose upon its subjects, when their turbulence and rebellious nature doth call for them. But that is altogether another question, and away from the drift of our subject, which hath now shewn you wherein consisted the guilt of kings, and wherein still consisteth the guilt of kings who acknowledge the Papacy in any form, and suffer it on any pretence to have a say in the kingdom.

2. And now, in the light of this lesson concerning the duty of kings, and their guilt in departing from the same by giving their people into the hands of the little horn; in the light, I say, of this lesson, I will now endeavour to shew you another view of that sinful act which hath been committed by the estates of this kingdom. What have we now done? We have given the Pope the full swing of his fearful influence over seven or eight millions of his majesty's lieges! Let us endeavour to see what is the national guilt of this act, and how it should be divided and shared amongst us. It was a great evil in the

sight of God, that so many will-worshippers and idol worshippers should be within the kingdom. But the king did his duty in establishing a Protestant church, and upholding it for worship and discipline, throughout all the corners of the land; and he did his duty well in saying, there shall not one of these idolaters and subjects of Antichrist be a servant in the house of my free and Christian kingdom. While these two acts stood, of a Reformed church supported through the kingdom, and a government performed by Christian men, who foreswore all communion with Antichrist; while this lasted, I say, the kingdom was faultless in its constitution before Christ, the Head of kingdoms: and whatever might be the private character of the individual governors, they were rebuked by the holiness of the constitutions which they took in hand to execute; and the church was rebuked, which did, by giving the Lord's Supper to such men, deceive the king in the matter of his responsible servants. Up to the time of the revocation of the Test and Corporation laws, I hold that the kingdom in itself was not to be blamed: it stood like Tyre, which many think typifieth this kingdom, as it is described in these words; "Thou sealest up the sum, full of wisdom and perfect in beauty. Thou hast been in Eden, the garden of God. Every precious stone was thy covering: the sardine, the topaz, and the diamond, the beryl, the onyx, and the jasper, the sapphire, the emerald, and the carbuncle, and gold. The workmanship of thy tabrets and of thy pipes was prepared in thee in the day that thou wast created. Thou art the anointed cherub that covereth, and I have set thee so. Thou wast

upon the holy mountain of God; thou hast walked up and down in the midst of the stones of fire. Thou wast perfect in thy ways from the day that thou wast created, till iniquity was found in thee." Now, while I thus justify the kingdom of Great Britain up to this last year, I cannot in like manner justify the church, which had pledged herself to the king, as the condition of her establishment, that she would be at great pains to convert his subjects, deluded by the Papacy, to the true church of the living God: instead of which, she has not grieved over the evil enough, nor enough travailed for the removal of it; otherwise, depend upon it, long ere this we should have gotten the victory over that abominable superstition. This complaint, this—let me give it its proper name—guiltiness, aye, and guiltiness for immortal souls, which I bring against the church in these kingdoms established, and especially against the Church of Ireland, hath, as I conceive, brought in the evil condition of the kingdom which we now lament. For when the church became lethargic, became passive, towards the Papists, and the pulpit spake no longer in the ear of men the crimes and the foreordained judgments of Antichrist; it came to pass, as may be expected, that men themselves became also lethargic and passive, yea, and friendly, to the abomination: which inclination, helped on by all the natural sympathies of the human heart—sympathies which yet nature must submit to faith—hath brought it to pass that the king and the parliament of the kingdom have taken away the stigma which till now rested upon his Papal

subjects;—a stigma, be it observed, which did not attach to them as men, no, nor yet as citizens; for there rested upon them no privations which belong to men and citizens; but a stigma resting upon them only as members of an Antichristian church, which cannot amalgamate in any acts of Christian polity with the true Christian church. While this stigma remained, it was a continual memorial unto the Papists that they were members of an antisocial, antipolitical, antichristian kingdom: it was a continual witness and testimony against their evil condition, made by the king, as the head of that house in which they were permitted to remain as commoners, but into the offices and trusts of which their false religion prevented them from coming. Now that this testimony hath been removed, they are treated with a lie; and the lie with which they are treated is this, that a Papist, without coming out of Babylon, may be a member of a Christian government, may hold power under Christ, and sit in that session of the gods where Christ also sitteth. The church led the way; the state hath followed—but with this difference, that while the church hath altered none of her constitutions; hath sinned not in her system, but only in her persons; hath contracted no constitutional, but only a local disease; the state, upon the other hand, hath contracted a constitutional disease, which I would call ossification of the heart and paralysis of the extremities. The Pope of Rome hath his will now, without let or hindrance, of seven millions of his Majesty's lieges. Remorslessly have they been given into his lion-mouth, to be trampled under his feet,

like the feet of a bear; and he will hunt them, and make his prey of them, like the leopard. What a sacrifice is this! what a dereliction of duty unto seven millions of the people is this! what an injury inflicted upon them is this! that they should be taught, 'It mattereth not whether you be Papists or no; it mattereth not whether you come out of Babylon or no: stay within her, and go down like the milstone into the deep; or come out of her, and be saved: it mattereth not to me, your father; it mattereth not to me, your shepherd; it mattereth not to me, your king, at all!'

And they dream that they will defend themselves against this dereliction of holiness, against this dereliction of duty, by an ambiguous and unmeaning oath; which, verily, if it be regarded in itself, hath no more respect to a Papist than to an Infidel; being, in truth, a sort of save-all to the worn-out consciences of men, and a permission to become legislators without oath of supremacy, declaration against idolatry, profession of Christ, or any thing of a religious nature; and, as respects the Papist, it gives him complete liberty to believe concerning the Pope of Rome whatever he pleaseth, and to come under any engagements to him, which do not interfere directly with his allegiance to the king—that is to say, you suffer a man's religion to exercise over him any and all influences, to grow up with him in perfect liberty and honour, and, having given full scope to the tide, you put down a slender barrier, and say, Stop thou here, and enter not within this pale! Art thou God, I might say, that with a word thou shouldest thus stem the strength of a tide which hath borne

down the most fixed barriers of law and of religion, and will bear down this, like a buttress of straw, whenever it pleaseth? The former oaths struck at the root of the matter, and were the consummation of a system of disabilities which ran through our whole constitution: but that system is removed; the Papacy is patronized in all inferior places; and, instead of the substantial oaths heretofore presented, this shadow of an oath is introduced. But who is he that can separate the spiritual and the temporal in the Pope? Can an oath coined yesterday by supple statesmen, rend that which twelve centuries have been riveting? Nay, but I affirm, that, if the Pope have spiritual supremacy, he ought to have temporal supremacy also; if he be the head of the church, then he ought likewise to be the head of the state: for Jesus is Lord, in virtue of his being Christ: the world is preserved for the church; the world, and all worlds, are put under the feet of the church; and whosoever is head of the church, must needs be head of the world also. For, according to the doctrine which I have already taught, the king must listen to Christ speaking in the word and in the church, and especially to Christ speaking in the church—for in no other way ascertaineth he the voice of Christ;—and therefore, if the church must listen to the Pope, who in his turn listeneth to no one, but is Christ's vicar plenipotentiary, then what have we, but that the powers that be should listen unto him? So that, if his spiritual supremacy be conceded, his temporal must follow. I deny, as a divine, that they can be separated, otherwise than by hurling both back into his

lying throat. This petty oath very generously permitteth his supremacy in the church, and very politely says nothing at all about his claims to supremacy in the state; but, permitting him to claim what he pleaseth to claim, and the taker of the oath to believe it all, it presumeth by its fiat to set the man's conscience straight again; to sist all conclusions and consequences of his opinions, and to save all by an oath! Woeful expedient of helpless and forsaken men!

Finally, beloved brethren, there is one remedy left, and I advise every one to avail himself of it. The canons of the church against the Papacy remain, though the laws of the kingdom be abrogated. Let the clergy put the canons in force: let the authorities of the church require parish priests to do their duty by the poor Papists, whom this act doth only more and more delude: let them preach upon the abominations of the Papacy once every quarter, at the least: let them bring up returns to the superior authorities in the church, of the numbers in their several parishes, and of their travail and diligence to convert them from the errors of their way. Surely our Evangelical and Liberal clergy will not refuse to enter by that door of admittance, and preach the Gospel and disseminate the Scriptures, now that this most horrid and abhorred barrier has been removed: surely your zeal for the poor Catholic, as ye call them, will not evaporate in a holiday speech. Well, now let all clergymen set the example of doing their duty by the deluded Papists. And let the laymen follow in their steps: let every man who is a master shew the errors of the Papacy to his

servants; let every one do it unto his neighbour; and so let us try whether we shall not be able to bring good out of this great evil. Then will it come to light whether indeed these men have spoken true about breaking down the barrier between the Protestant and Papist: then also will it come to light whether indeed a zealous Protestant church can be endured by a Liberal state: but, what is of far greater moment, it will then be manifest unto God that his church is still zealous for his truth; that there is still a testimony in the land against the Papacy, though our constitutional testimony be gone; that there is still a testimony in the church, that there is still a testimony amongst his people and amongst his ministers—out of whom, I doubt not, if thus they be found faithful, he will preserve a remnant in the evil day, upon whom to make his mercy known, when he bringeth his judgments upon those who have rejected Christ for their only ruler, and will not have him, unless he will sit in the same seat and confer in the same council with Antichrist, which never may be thought, which never may be believed. Therefore, brethren, seeing that evil is determined against us, "work while it is called to-day; for when the night cometh, no man can work."

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DISCOURSE VIII.

THE WORDS WHICH THE LITTLE HORN SPAKE.

DANIEL vii. 11.

I beheld then, because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake; I beheld, even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame.

In the history of this world's sufferings, which from time to time God hath been pleased to inflict upon it, for the correction of its wickedness and the purgation of its corruption, there is nothing at all to be compared with the judgment upon the fourth beast, which is to be inflicted upon it immediately before the coming of the Son of Man in the clouds of heaven; and which in Daniel is called "a time of trouble such as there never was since there was a nation even to that same time:" and by our Lord thus described; "There shall be great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world, no, nor ever shall be; and except those days should be shortened there should no flesh be saved; but for the elect's sake those days shall be shortened:" and in the symbolical language of the Apocalypse it is thus described; "And the great city (of the Papacy) was divided into three parts,

and the cities of the nations fell; and great Babylon came in remembrance before God, to give unto her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of his wrath: and every island fled away, and the mountains were not found: and there fell upon men a great hail out of heaven, every stone about the weight of a talent; and men blasphemed God because of the plague of the hail, for the plague thereof was exceeding great." All this judgment shall come upon the ten kingdoms of the Papacy, excepting only the remnant which it may please the Lord our God to preserve in the midst of them all; "the elect, for whose sake those days shall be shortened." Now, for such an awful and unexampled judgment, called in Scripture "the day of the Lord's vengeance; the day of his wrath," there must be some unexampled cause, some depth of guilt unprecedented in the history of mankind. And wherein, it may be asked, doth this guilt consist? The answer is given in the text; "I beheld then, because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake; I beheld, even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame." The head and front of his offending lieth in the words which the Pope, or little horn, uttered with his mouth against the Most High: to have listened to which, to have obeyed which, constitutes the chief guilt of the fourth beast, and the chief cause for which it is so direfully visited. If, then, we would justify God in the judgment which is about to proceed upon the Papal kingdoms; if we would prepare your minds for the discourse of judgment, which we are next to hold; we must here endeavour to lay before you in order

the hideous and unprecedented nature of the guilt which these kingdoms have contracted towards God. Now this guilt, as hath been seen, is made to consist chiefly, or entirely, in the words which he spake. His cruelties to the saints, his cruelties to the Jews, his cruelties to all men, his wickedness in himself, his inventions of delusion, his ambition, his usurpation, his deception of mankind, are all either forgotten or overlooked, or included in that higher and greater guilt which standeth in speaking great words against the Most High; in blaspheming God and his tabernacle, and them that dwell therein.

To understand the nature of this guilt, you must have a right understanding of that word of God which is offended against. Of all sacred things, the most sacred is the word of God, which hath gone out of the mouth of God. The world's existence and order hang upon it; man's salvation depends upon it; the faithfulness of God, his trustworthiness, rest upon it; all future things take their time, their forms, and their condition from it. God hath ever "magnified it above all his name." It is most sacred, most holy, most stedfast, and unchangeable. "Think not," said Christ, in his first sermon, "that I am come to destroy the Law and the Prophets; I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled. Whosoever therefore shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven: but whosoever shall do and teach them,

the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven." And I may say of every oracle of God, what God himself hath said of that last, greatest, and most consummate of all his oracles (Rev. xxii. 18); "I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, If any man add unto it, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book; and if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and from the things which are written in this book." Such being the immaculate sanctity and the imperturbable certainty of God's word, and such the awful sanctions with which its integrity is watched and warded and preserved inviolate, what must be the guilt of that system which hath not only hidden its light under a bushel, but contradicted every jot and tittle of its truth with cunning artifices of the devil! This is the guilt of the Church of Rome as an ecclesiastical body,—to have vented from its dragon mouth things utterly false, blasphemies against the person of God, and bold contradictions of his unalterable word. To the proof of which assertion we now address ourselves right cheerfully. Right gladly do we assume the office of the accuser and the indicter of that arch blasphemer. And, according to the method of all well-ordered indictments, we shall proceed, first, in the way of an historical narrative of the offence; and then gather the substance of it under twelve several counts or heads.

I. Beginning, then, from the commencement of "the time, times, and a half," when the bishop of

Rome began to play his wicked part as the little horn—that is, from the year 533—we do now proceed, in historical order, to exhibit the impositions upon and contradictions of the truth, which have been introduced by the wicked inventions of Rome. In that same century, as hath been already said, Pope Gregory assumed the title of universal bishop; thereby contradicting the whole of Scripture, which representeth Christ as the only Head of the church; who alone hath superintendency of the seven golden candlesticks, or the complete number of the churches; whose seven stars, or complete number of ministers, pastors, bishops, or angels, lie together, side by side, equal and alike, in the right hand of the great Shepherd, of the Universal Bishop, of the great Apostle and High Priest of our profession. This assumption of Christ's best, noblest, dearest dignity, subverted the government of the church, and put into the breast of the Bishop of Rome the root of all his future impositions and usurpations. Against this supremacy the whole church of God in this island of Great Britain solemnly protested, and would not hear of it by any means. For when Augustine the monk, coming from this same Gregory into our island with a kind of legate's power from the Pope, would, by his prayers and threats, have required our bishops to be subject to him, they declared, with one consent, that they would do none of his requirements, that they owed him no subjection, and that they would not be subject to any foreign bishop. The venerable Bede says, that "they withstood him in all that ever he said; yea, even refused to eat bread or to lodge in the same

inn with him." The same Bede records of the Scottish Church at this time, as it was served with priests from Iona, that "they observed only those works of piety and chastity which they could learn in the Prophetical, Evangelical, and Apostolical writings." And this I observe, because in this same century the religious use and worship of consecrated crosses, and the decisions of councils, began to be set upon a level with the commandments of the word of God. In this same century the right of interpreting the Scriptures began to be assumed by the church, in opposition to the right of private interpretation; and likewise the celibacy of the clergy was attempted, and in some measure carried into effect; and also the Mass began to take form. But still, while Gregory laid the basis of the whole system, yet he is perhaps one of the greatest witnesses against the inventions which were afterwards introduced. His words are oft better than his acts; because in his writings he spake as an individual person, but in his acts he acted as the head of a system. These are his words with respect to the Scripture: "Whatsoever serveth for edification is contained in the volume of the Scriptures; wherein are all resolutions of doubts fully and plentifully to be found; they being like a full spring, that cannot be drawn dry. The Scripture is God's epistle to his creatures, and by it God speaketh all that he would have us to do. The Scripture is, as it were, a river smooth and deep, in which at once the lamb may walk and the elephant swim." And forasmuch as no guilt in the Church of Rome is greater than their having dared to call those

books which the Jews rejected, and which the Lord and the Apostles acknowledged not, the word of God, I count it good to make this quotation: "We do not amiss if we produce a testimony out of the books (of Maccabees), though not canonical." And by William of Occam it is thus written, "according to Gregory, in his Morals, the books of Judith, Tobias, and the Maccabees, Ecclesiasticus, and the book of Wisdom, are not to be received for confirming any thing pertaining to faith." And, to shew how distinct he was upon the right of the people to receive the cup, among several passages which are now before me, he saith, in one of his Homilies; "What the blood of the Lamb is, ye have learned already, not by hearing, but by drinking: which blood is stricken upon both door-posts when not with the mouth of the body only, but also of the heart, it is drunk." And with respect to the number of the sacraments, Isidore of Seville, scholar to Gregory the Great, speaketh thus: "Now the sacraments are, Baptism and Chrism" [it was then the custom to anoint at the time they baptized], "and the Body and Blood of Christ." And, though images and invocations of saints were now used in the services of the church, yet, to shew how far beyond what Gregory believed this hath gone, take these his words: "But to adore images, by all means shun. In the adoration of the Trinity only, are we humbly to prostrate ourselves. Images are kept, not to be adored, but in order that the unlearned, by looking upon the pictures, may in like wise, as by reading a book, be instructed of the things which have been

done, and incited to piety." The same Gregory, upon the subject of merit, hath these words: "Therefore our righteous Advocate will, in judgment defend us for righteous, because we know and accuse ourselves to be unrighteous." And again: "All righteousness of man is convicted to be unrighteousness, if weighed in the scale of Justice." And again: "Our perfection itself is not without blame unless the severe Judge mercifully weigh the same, so fine is the balance of his examination." Gregory was truly a great man, and I hope also a saint; and he is another example of the great truth, that as Satan leadeth a man into temptation by means of his best endowments, and ruineth him on the side of his supposed virtues, where he is least upon his guard; so likewise doth he bring the church into temptation by means of her most honoured and esteemed bishops, and thus betrays her upon the side of her confidence and trust in man. Yet am I far from condemning the men who are thus, through the idolatry of the church, instrumental in bringing her into deep waters: therefore I condemn not Gregory. Nay, who am I, that I should condemn any man? Myself I willingly condemn, and hope to be saved by the justice of Christ; and other men I invite to do likewise. Of Gregory, therefore, I will say, what is commonly said of him, that he was the last of the good bishops of Rome, and the first of the bad ones.

And thus things stood, nearly as they were left by that great man, until the era of Charlemagne about the year 800: Gregory died about the year 700, and Charlemagne was crowned in Rome in the

year 800. Now Charlemagne gathered around him a school of most worthy divines; amongst whom were Alcuinus our countryman, Bertram, the monk Samson, and Claudius Clemens of Scotland; and besides these, there were the pupils of Alcuin Rabanus, Hymo, and our countryman Johannes Scotus. These divines made a noble stand against the growth of Popery, which had been promoted not a little by the second Council of Nice, held in the year 787; which decreed veneration, or outward reverence, of images, in passing by them or standing before them. This was done in opposition to a council held three-and-thirty years before at Constantinople, which decreed many things most distinctly against the worship of images. Now, against this council of Nice these divines instructing Charlemagne, he gathered together the Council of Frankfort, "wherein, according to the pathway of Scripture and tradition of the fathers, that false synod of the Greeks was subverted, and its decrees for the adoration of images altogether annulled." In the Caroline books, as they are called (which, though their genuineness be denied by some of the later Papists, are yet entered in Pope Pius the Fourth's expurgatory Index), it is declared, that this synod, being destitute of Scripture proof, had betaken themselves to certain apocryphal and ridiculous fooleries."

From these divines, and from Bede, and from many others who lived in this time, I could quote innumerable passages, opposing and withstanding every one of the Papal abominations. For example: with respect to the sufficiency of Scripture with-

out the traditions of the church, Claudius Scotus thus writes: "Therefore err they, because they know not the Scriptures: and because they are ignorant of the Scriptures, they consequently know not the power of God, that is, Christ." And again: bringing in the known canon of St. Jerome, "this, because it hath not authority from the Scriptures, is with the same facility contemned wherewith it is avowed." Paschasius, abbot of Corbey, of which abbey Bertram was a monk, saith of the cup, "Drink ye all of this, as well ministers as the rest of the believers." And Hymo, pupil of Alcuin, thus speaketh: "The cup is called the communion, or, as it were, participation; because all communicate of it, and take part of the blood of the Lord which is contained in it." Rabanus, another of his scholars, and preceptor to Charlemagne, saith, "What do these two sacraments effect? by the one we are born anew in Christ, and by the other Christ abides in us." Now, concerning the presence in the elements of the Supper, whether it be corporeal and carnal, or only spiritual; not only can we quote the authority of all these divines, but the whole little treatise of Bertram the monk, which was expressly written, by order of the Emperor, upon this great question, which now began to make a great stir in the church; and which is one of the ablest works we have against transubstantiation. He thus delivers himself: "That bread and wine figuratively stand forth as the body and blood of Christ: this, the pledge and the figure; that, the very truth." And again: "For, as to the substance of the creatures, what they were

before consecration, that likewise after it they consist of." Again: "Body of the Lord and blood of the Lord are they called, taking the appellation of that of which they are a sacrament: therefore perceive we, that the mystery of the body and blood of Christ, now of the church received by the faithful, is separated by a wide difference from that which was born of the Virgin Mary." Concerning the testimony of these divines I make no further observation, save that in the year 842 they, and the other doctors of France, being assembled at Paris by the son of Charlemagne, condemned the adoration of images, concerning which Thomas Aquinas, the great Papal authority, hath taught that the crucifix and image of Christ is to be adored with divine honour. This constellation of learning, which appeared under Charlemagne, was God's last testimony against the darkness. They would have healed Babylon, but she would not be healed.

From the year 900 darkness set in upon the earth; and it rested upon it, deep and dark and thick, until the harbingers of the Reformation arose, ushering in Martin Luther, that prince of divines. Nevertheless, God did not leave himself without a witness, yea, without many witnesses; of whom we feel it an honour to make mention of the names. Amongst them our Saxon Ælfrick is well worthy to be remembered, who, in his Saxon Treatise of the Old Testament, hath well testified to the canon of Scripture, and in his Saxon Homily to the spiritual presence in the Supper. Against Hildebrande, who rose up to perfect the work of Satan, the Archdeacon Berengarius testified against

the carnal presence; but was forced to subscribe their wicked tenet, that all the faithful in the sacrament do really tear with their teeth the body of Christ. Peter of Clugny bore testimony to the canon of Scripture. Of Berenger it is said, by Matthew of Westminster, that he had almost drawn all France, Italy, and England to his opinion: and though the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome was exceeding heavy at this time, the French churches still resisted both him and his synods, and at divers meetings, both in Anjou and Tourraine, decided against him, and subscribed to Berengarius. And Anselm is a great witness for justification by faith only, against the grace of condignity, or grace going part with our own worthiness. His words are: "For grace is given in Christ; because this is ordained of God, that he which believeth in Christ should be saved without works, by faith alone, and gratis, for nought in himself." And again: "If a man should serve God a thousand years, and that most fervently, he would not deserve of condignity to be in the kingdom of heaven for half a day." That this doctrine was the common doctrine of that time amongst the priests and people, is manifest from the catechism, thought to be composed by Anselm, for the visitation of the sick; where, amongst other questions, this occurreth: "Dost thou believe that thou canst not be saved but by the death of Christ?" and this also, which the expurgatory Index hath erased; "Dost thou believe to come to glory, not by thy own merits, but by the virtue and merit of the person of our Lord Jesus Christ? And dost thou believe that the Lord Jesus Christ did

die for our salvation; and that none can be saved by his own merits, or by any other means but by the merit of his passion?" Whereunto when the sick man answered in the affirmative, the priest was required thus to proceed: "Go to, then; while thy soul remaineth in thee, in this death only place thy confidence; in no other thing have confidence: to this death commit thyself wholly; with this alone cover thyself wholly. If he shall say that thou hast deserved damnation, say thou, O Lord, the death of our Lord Jesus Christ I stretch between me and my evil deserts, and his merit I offer for the merit which I ought to have, but have not." Let this stand as the illustration and exemplification of a great principle, which I am about to state,—That though the heads of the Papacy, and its chief head the Pope, were long ere this imbued with the antichristian spirit, and doing their utmost to imbue the whole body of Christendom, yet, through the resistance of kings to his authority, and their protection of their subjects against his impositions, it was not until well onward in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, that the truth amongst the parish priests and the people began to be thoroughly corrupted; chiefly through means of the monks, whom the Pope used as his militia over Christendom, to suppress the liberties of the church, whereof the parish priests have ever been the guardians: nor was it until the Council of Trent (of which more hereafter) that all the heresies, impositions, and villanies of the Roman fraternity were bound and riveted upon the Christian church.

But diligently were they employed at Rome in

forging fetters for Christendom. It was in the year 1074 that the celibacy of the clergy was decreed; and before this, they had brought up the abomination of a sacrifice in the Mass. But in the twelfth century it was, that the Pope came on with his mighty power, insisting upon the right of investiture or collation to bishoprics, and the dispensation of the clergy from secular judgment against which our Second Henry, in a great assembly of the kingdom, enacted the famous Clarendon Constitutions; "not as new things, but as received from his predecessors, Edgar and Alfred;" where it was enacted, that none should appeal to the see of Rome without the king's licence; that it should not be lawful for any bishop or archbishop to leave the realm, or repair to the pope upon his summons, without the king's licence; and that clergy guilty of crimes should be tried before secular judges. While thus in England we were turning our ancient house into a fortress of defence, because the Pope would ever be invading us—becoming Protestants not of will, but by necessity; as a citizen becomes a soldier when the enemy is at his gates; as a shepherd becomes a soldier when the enemy invades his valley—there were men of great mark raised up to defend the bulwarks of orthodox theology: amongst whom, in the twelfth century, we notice Hugo de Sancto Victore, who by his great work upon the sacraments hath earned to himself the name of another Augustine; contending constantly, that, though there be seven principal sacraments in the church (signifying that there be others less principal, and so shewing the sense in which he useth the word sacrament, as any ordinance having

an outward sign), doth declare that there are two chief sacraments of our salvation, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord. And he asserteth this likewise; "Therefore the sacrament is taken in two kinds, that thereby a double effect might be signified; for it hath force, as St. Ambrose saith, to preserve body and soul." And the same Hugo, and likewise his brother Richard, do both declare the number of the canonical books of the Old Testament to be twenty, always excepting from the canon the books of the Apocrypha. Besides these, there is Bernard, commonly called St. Bernard; whose testimony upon the subject of faith and works is most triumphant; from whom I quote this, from his sermon upon the Annunciation: "Now, as touching life eternal, we know that the sufferings of this time are not condign to the future glory; no, not though one man should sustain them all: neither are the merits of men such as that eternal life should be due to them of right, or that God should do some injury if he did not give it; for, to omit that all our merits are God's gifts, and so then man is more a debtor to God than God to man, what are all merits to so great a glory?" And I cannot omit here to notice, that when Richard the First of England, and Philip the Second of France, on their way to the crusade, abode in Sicily, they heard Joachim abbot of Courace expound, out of the Apocalypse, how Antichrist was then born, and in the city of Rome, and should be advanced high in the Apostolical see; applying to him the words of the Apostle, "He shall exalt himself above all that is called

God;" and that these ten crowns were the kings of the earth that obeyed them; but in the end the Lord shall consume him with the spirit of his mouth.—And now began to stand forth the Waldenses and the Albigenses, who kept sound doctrine, and did stedfastly protest against all the corruptions of the Papacy: of whom Rainerius, one of the Papal inquisitors, thus speaketh; "Whereas other sects deter men with their horrible blasphemies, this sect of the Lyonists, (so called from the town of Lyons, of which Waldo was a native) maketh a great shew of godliness, in that they live righteously in the sight of men, and well believe all things concerning God, and all the articles contained in the Creed; only the Roman church and clergy they blaspheme, whereunto the multitude of the laity giveth a ready belief." This confession is from the mouth of one of their greatest enemies.

I do not stay to name all the witnesses whom God raised up, but I cannot omit the mention of Bradwardine, and William of Occam, and Grosseteste, of this island; of Marcellius of Padua, who withstood the Pope's superiority to other bishops; setting forth these tenets: first, that the Pope is not superior to other bishops, much less to the Emperor; secondly, that things are to be decided by Scripture; thirdly, that learned men of the laity are to have voices in councils; fourthly, that the clergy and the pope himself, are to be subject to magistrates; fifthly, that the church is the whole company of the faithful; sixthly, that Christ is the Head of the church, and ap-

pointed none to be his vicar. I do not stop to mention the statutes of King Edward the Third, of King Richard the Second, of King Henry the Fourth, against the Pope's supremacy within their dominions; forbidding, upon the pain of *præmunire*, any of their subjects to intercommune with him in any thing pertaining to temporalities, or to civil or ecclesiastical causes. Nor do I stop to quote the excellent things which are written by Dante and Petrarca and Chaucer, in whose writings the Pope as Antichrist, and Rome as Babylon, are excellently revealed. Nor how John de Rupe-scissa interpreted the xviith of the Apocalypse exactly as we interpret it now; putting it forth under this emblem, "that the Pope would be one day like unto that bird which, being naked, was fledged and feathered by borrowing a feather of every bird; and then, seeing herself so furnished, fat, and fair, she began to flatter herself, and strike at others with her beak and claws. The other birds, that had made her so gay, seeing her pride and insolency, re-demanded their own feathers, and so left the poor bird naked and starved with cold. Rev. xvii. 13: 'The ten horns (or kings) shall hate the whore, and shall make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and shall burn her with fire.'" He was burned at Avignon for this great truth which he had dared to utter. Hear also what Bradwardine, the profound doctor, uttered against the doctrine current in his time: "Behold (I speak it with grief of heart), as in old time against one prophet of God there were found eight hundred and fifty prophets of Baal, so at this day, in this cause, how many, O Lord, do

now fight with Pelagius for free-will, against thy free grace, and against Paul the spiritual champion of grace! how many at this day reject free grace, and only declare free-will to be sufficient unto salvation! for the whole world, almost, is gone after Pelagius into error. Arise, therefore, O Lord, and judge thine own cause." —And of Wickliffe and his labours, and of the Lollards, our countrymen, we need not speak particularly, as they are well known, being main witnesses against the friars. Then arose John Huss and Jerome of Prague, whose sufferings and martyrdom are too well known to be here related. Nor need I speak of Picus Mirandulus, or John of Vesalia, or our own Lord Cobham, or others, who were the morning stars of the Reformation, until Martin Luther burst forth with the full blaze of evangelical truth.—Against this noble company of witnesses did the Bishop of Rome go on establishing his abominations over the earth, until he had attained to such a stature as successfully to resist the efforts at reformation which were made, in every kingdom within the territory of the fourth beast, save our own. I do not stay to tell the persecutions waged against the Albigenses and the Waldenses; whereof the former were almost rooted out, or scattered abroad over Europe, as Thuanus relates; and the latter endured such hideous persecution as the world can hardly equal. I do not stay to tell of the cruelties which were perpetrated in Calabria at the beginning of the Reformation; nor of the Sicilian Vespers; nor of the massacres of St. Bartholomew's eve; nor of the cruelties of the Duke of Alva in the

Low Countries; nor of the doings of the Inquisition in Spain and in France. These things are too well known—ah! no; they are not known enough! But my present subject concerneth not so much acts as words; and therefore, I have pursued this historical account rather with a view to the words than to the deeds of the little horn. I have shewn how God raised up witnesses—men of learning, men of understanding, men of power, princes as to knowledge and princes as to power—if possible to resist and withstand the headlong course with which the Papacy was rushing to its ruin. But it availed not; as we now proceed to shew, by opening, in the second place, that form of unsound words which the Pope and his fraternity did at length, in the Council of Trent, succeed in fixing and fastening and riveting upon the church.

II. The creed of the Christian church had stood as it was fixed by the Council of Nice in the time of Constantine, which to this day may be called the creed of all orthodox and catholic Christians. To this creed Pope Pius the Fourth, in whose time the Council of Trent concluded its wicked labours, did add twelve new articles, wherein are embodied the impositions which the Papacy have made upon the Christian faith. These twelve articles, being added to the Nicene Creed, do compose the faith of every Papist; which every Papist binds himself both to believe and to maintain in these words: "This true catholic faith, out of which none can be saved, which I now freely profess

and truly hold, I (N. or M.) promise, vow, and swear most constantly to hold and profess the same." And for three centuries hath this creed, without abbreviation or addition, retained this supreme place in the faith of the Roman church. It embodies the substance of the council of Trent; concerning which council, you must know that it was called together in the year 1545, on very purpose to set forth canons against the doctrine of the Reformers on which all the Protestant churches are built. It lasted for a great many years, (its sittings terminating not till 1563;) wore out several pontificates; and was concluded under Pope Pius the Fourth. There has been no council since that time; and in the decrees thereof were embodied the sum and substance of the Papal doctrine, which had been left on record by former councils; and all new questions which the Reformation had opened were finally concluded on: so that in the decision of that council the Amen was, as it were, put to the Papal form of unsound words. Moreover, we have the sum and substance of the matter there determined, embodied, in the twelve short articles issued by the authority of Pope Pius the Fourth, and added to the Nicene Creed, the oldest and the fullest symbol of the fathers: and these two together are solemnly declared to be the faith "out of which no man can be saved;" and it is solemnly sworn to by every Papist; and most plentifully circulated amongst the people in the shape of tracts, as it is also embodied in the Missals and Prayer-books of the church: and, in short, stands to the Papal system in the same, indeed in a far

higher, importance than the Apostles' Creed doth to us. No Papist, however scrupulous he may be, can object that his system should be represented by this most consecrated document of theirs; and by this, therefore, I do now proceed to try the system. These twelve added articles I shall now submit to you, with brief words of exposition, as the twelve counts upon which this Papal system is accursed of God and adjudged to the burning flame.

1. Of these twelve articles, the first is, "I most firmly admit and embrace apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions, and all other observances and constitutions of the same church." The church here mentioned must refer to that in the ninth article of the Nicene Creed, which is, "I believe one catholic Apostolic church:" and, taking the article in reference to the catholic Apostolic church, I would have little difficulty myself in subscribing it; because there is no such sanction of truth as the constant tradition of the one catholic Apostolic church: by which, I may say, and by which alone, the canon of Scripture hath been determined and the inspired separated from the uninspired writings. For though it be true that our Lord and his Apostles, by their quotations from the Old Testament, did impart the stamp of the Holy Ghost to those books which they quoted, and deliver them out of the criterion of tradition into the safer criterion of the judgment of inspired men; yet, forasmuch as they did neither add to nor take from the canon which the Jewish Sanhedrim had established upon the constant judgment and tradition of the synagogue, they do only the more

confirm, by the approbation of the Holy Ghost, that which constant tradition of the church had already affirmed; and thus, as it appears to me, do give a Divine sanction to constant tradition of the church as a test of truth. And therefore it is, that at the Reformation our reformers did by no means contradict or set at nought the tradition of the church as a ground of faith; but, upon the other hand, did recognise it, and only required that it should be consistent with the Law and the Gospels and the Apostles: for, unless consistent therewith, how can any tradition be the tradition of the one catholic and Apostolic church, which hath been in the world since the world began? But when I find in the twenty-third article, that this holy catholic and Apostolic church is also called "Roman," and that the Roman is declared to be "the mother and mistress of all churches," then indeed the wholesome doctrine of tradition is converted into the most abominable of all dogmatism, tyranny, and imposition upon the faith of men. This receiving traditions on their own account, is the very thing for which the Jews were judged in Isaiah's time, for which they were judged in our Lord's time, and against which the Apostle is continually exhorting the churches. Isaiah xxix. 13: "The fear of this people toward me is taught by the precepts of men; therefore, behold, I will proceed to do a marvellous work against this people." Matt. xv. 7: "Ye hypocrites, well did Esaias prophesy of you, saying, This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouths, and honoureth me with their lips; but their heart is far from me: but

in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men." Col. ii. 8: "Beware, lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the traditions of men.....Let no man beguile you of your reward, in voluntary humility, and worshipping of angels.....Wherefore, if ye be dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why, as though living in the world, are ye subject to ordinances (touch not, taste not, handle not, which all are to perish with the using) after the commandments and doctrines of men?" After these warnings of the Prophets of Christ and his Apostles, is it not a terrible thing for a body of ministers to write at the fore-front of their creed, without any reference whatever to the Holy Scriptures, that they most firmly admit and embrace all the observances and constitutions of the Roman church? But, besides this slighting of the Scriptures where above all they should be recognised—that is, where tradition is in question—the next article doth go further, and put the Scriptures, the eternal word of God spoken for the use of all his intelligent creatures, under the lock and key of the same Roman church.

2. Article 14. "I do admit the Holy Scriptures in the same sense that holy mother church doth, whose business it is to judge of the true sense and interpretation of them; and I will interpret them according to the unanimous sense of the fathers." This is such an outrage upon God and man as passeth all understanding. First, they canonize all their own traditions, making man's words equal with God's; and next, they take away the

canonical traditions of the church from the judgment of the people, and give them an interpretation of their own. This really is to put God away from the instruction of man, and to say that Christ, the Word, is not equal to his undertaking of revealing God. What a thing it is, to give unto the people a human interpretation of that mystery of godliness which the Holy Spirit hath interpreted according to the wisdom of Christ and the will of God! This is a blow at God's ability to reveal himself by word; at his success in the attempt, yea, and at his sincerity too: and how awfully it contradicts the commandment of Christ to search the Scriptures, and the declaration of the Apostle, that "all Scripture is given by inspiration of God, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness!" And what a making of common cause it is with the Scribes and Pharisees in our Lord's time, and the Jewish Talmudists since, who would not read Moses and the Prophets otherwise than as the Scribes instructed them! Aye, and what a blow at human reason it is, and the capacity of thought and judgment and understanding, to say that there is a book, and that too God's laws and doctrines for man's salvation, which yet a man may not read or interpret for himself, but must take upon the interpretation of another! Prevent a child from using its limbs from infancy, and what will the issue be?—the incapacity of using them; stiff, stark immobility. So, prevent men from exercising their conscience towards God through the interpretation of his word, and what will you produce, but the same incapacity of thinking, judg-

ing, and determining? And this is really the case, as I can aver with every Papist I have conversed with: a complete paralysis of the conscience in matters of belief, an incapacity of judging between what is true and false, a readiness either for the wildest fanaticism or for the darkest superstition.

3. The 15th Article of this famous creed is in these words: "I do profess and believe that there are seven sacraments of the new law, truly and properly so called, instituted by Jesus Christ our Lord, and necessary to the salvation of man, though not all of them to every one—namely, baptism, confirmation, eucharist, penance, extreme unction, orders, and marriage; and that they do confer grace: and that of these, baptism, confirmation, and orders, may not be repeated without sacrilege. I do also receive and admit the received and approved rites of the catholic church, in her solemn administration of the said sacraments." Now, concerning these sacraments, I do not stickle for a word, whether the seven ordinances here spoken of should be called sacraments or not; but this I say, and to the death will maintain, that whatever name may be given to Baptism and the Lord's Supper may not be given to confirmation, penance, extreme unction, orders, and marriage. Baptism and the Lord's Supper contain together the completeness and fulness of Christ; the one being Christ the life-quickener; the other, Christ the life-supporter, and Christ the bestower of the inheritance. To quicken the new life, to nourish it upon his body, and to instate

us in his inheritance, are, I say, the sum total of what Christ doth, of what can be done, for the heirs of redemption. To place confirmation, as they call it, which, if I understand what it means, is no more than an adult, who has been baptized in infancy, expressing by the act of his own will his adhesion or accession to that which was done by his sponsor in his baptism (for making which even a separate ordinance I can find no authority in Scripture, nor yet in the earliest traditions of the church);—again, to place repentance, which is no ordinance at all, but a continual occupation of the humble soul; or, if an ordinance it be, is merely the sentence which the discipline of the church lays upon an offender;—to place marriage, which is no wise connected with salvation and the gift of Christ, though it contain under it, like every thing else, a deep mystery, the union of Christ and his church;—to make orders, which are proper for conveying a gift peculiar to the office-bearers of the church;—and, finally, to make extreme unction, which is nothing but the grossest corruption of the ordinance of visitation of the sick by the elders of the church:—these five ordinances to raise into the dignity of sacraments may seem to the unreflecting a small matter, but to those who understand Baptism and the Lord's Supper it is the most gross and shameful and unwarrantable presumption; making things occasional, and restricted in their application, of equal importance with Baptism, the sign and seal of regeneration; with the Lord's Supper, the sign and seal of union with Christ in his body and in

his inheritance. But into this matter I cannot enter, particularly as it would require a discourse upon the sacraments at large. But this I will say, with respect to the article in general, first, what a lie it is to say that these seven sacraments were instituted by Jesus Christ our Lord; and, secondly, what an error to say that they are necessary to the salvation of mankind! This is to limit salvation to the ordinances, whereas it is commensurate with faith: it is to destroy the ordinance of preaching, if we limit salvation to the sacraments: it is to destroy the use of the written word of God, to limit salvation to the sacraments: it is to destroy the testimony of the Holy Spirit through any member of Christ, to limit salvation to the sacraments; and it is to bring all things under the priest who administers the sacraments. But we limit not the salvation of God even to knowledge, if the means of knowledge be beyond our reach. As we believe that God can save an unbaptized infant, so believe we likewise that God can save, if so it please him, an unenlightened heathen. And, next, what an imposition upon the faith of the church, to require that she should receive the rites used by the Roman church in the administration of the same! For example: exorcism before Baptism, and washing the babe in holy water, and whipping it with a bunch of rods, to scourge the evil spirit out of it! the use of holy chrism in confirmation; ringing of bells and burning of incense during Mass; processions with the host, and other innumerable orgies. To require a man upon his salvation to believe in these things—for they say, this is the true catholic

faith, out of which none can be saved; and they swear most constantly to hold and profess the same, whole and entire;—this, I say, is such an imposition upon the faith of men as cannot be abhorred enough. What a load to men's conscience, what an indignity to God's most honourable verity, to palm all these things upon men as his truth, and to inculcate them upon the peril of damnation!

4. Article 16. "I do embrace and receive all and every thing that hath been defined and declared by the holy council of Trent concerning original sin and justification."—First, I observe upon this article, what a wicked thing it is, to require of ignorant people to believe what they know not! for how few are they, of any church, who know what was determined by the Council of Trent, either upon original sin or justification? This not only requireth men to believe the traditions of the church, which they do know, but likewise to believe those they do not know; which, really, is such an insolence to the natural sense of men, as to prove, beyond every thing, to how low an ebb reason is fallen amongst the people under the bondage of Rome. But when it is further known, as it is to those learned in the history of the Council of Trent, how unwilling that council was to set down any affirmative doctrine concerning original sin, and how confused and contrary to the truth is that which they did set down, our wonder is but the more increased. For the Council of Trent hath decided the following three articles to be heretical, and anathematized them:—The first, that original sin is not cancelled in baptism, but

only not imputed; or so razed that it beginneth to diminish in this life, and is wholly rooted out in that to come. Against this, they maintain that by baptism the guilt of original sin is wholly remitted, and that all is removed which hath the true and proper nature of sin; that it is razed out entirely, and not merely not imputed. They denied, in the second place, and anathematized the doctrine, that sin remaining in the baptized can hinder his entrance into heaven. And, in the third place, they denied, in the face of St. Paul, that concupisence which cherisheth sin, and remaineth after baptism, is truly sin; and they asserted, that concupiscence still remained in the baptized, but only for an exercise, and which cannot hurt but him that consenteth to it. So that, in very truth, upon the subject of original sin, every Romanist believing with the Council of Trent doth hold Baptism to be exactly the doing away with the evil which the fall entailed upon us; putting us into a condition of innocence, and delivering us from all risk of condemnation, from all occasion of humiliation, from all confession and all consciousness of original sin and guilt, and, in truth, from a wicked fleshly nature warring against the Spirit. The Romanists deny that a wicked fleshly nature remaineth in us to war against the Spirit; they deny that there is a root of evil in a baptized man: and how this destroys the foundation of faith and holiness I leave you to judge.

And now for justification. Holding the views delivered above concerning baptism, it was impossible they should hold sound views with respect

to justification: for the very root of justification by faith alone is, that within the church and without the church there remaineth and abideth, in every man, such an innate and thorough corruption, as doth incapacitate him for any good works whatever: and, consequently, nothing but condemnation can be grounded in or upon ourselves, but must be sought from without, in the free grace of God unto poor miserable sinners. But when these divines of Trent established that at baptism the wicked nature went out of a man, it necessarily followeth that he is capable of good actions in himself, upon which he may claim the Divine justice: and, accordingly, they made canons against very many, I may say all, the doctrines of Holy Scripture upon this subject; of which I shall extract one or two. They anathematized every one who should say that the wicked is justified by faith only, without preparation proceeding from the motion of his will; secondly, who should say that he is justified only by the imputation of the justice of Christ, or only by remission of sins, without inherent grace and charity; or that the grace of justification is only the favour of God. They condemned every one who should say that the commandments of God are impossible to the just, and that the just sinneth mortally or venially in every work. They denied that the good works of the just are the gifts of God, but held that they were withal the merits of the justified; and, in short, they overthrew the whole doctrine of justification by faith only, through the free grace of God. They mingled justification with sanctification; they joined the work of Christ with the work

of the believer; they introduced the doctrine of merit; they laid on the burden of the law, in order that they might bring in their sacrament of penance, with all the severities necessary to absolution, and, finally, that they might support the profitable sales of indulgences, by means of which those penances were remitted. But more of this hereafter. So completely doth this article of the creed of Pius the Fourth, received by every Papist, subvert the true doctrine of sin and of redemption from sin, and bring the church into legal bondage! And yet every poor Papist is required to believe all the sixteen heads of faith and thirty-three anathematisms delivered by the Council of Trent, of which I believe not one person in ten thousand knoweth any thing whatever.

5. And now we come to the 17th article, which is; "I do also profess, that in the Mass there is offered unto God a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead; and that in the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist there is truly, really, and substantially, the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity, of our Lord Jesus Christ: and that there is a conversion made of the whole substance of the bread into the body, and of the whole substance of the wine into the blood; which conversion the Catholic church calleth Transubstantiation." This article consisteth of two parts, the doctrine of the Mass, and of Transubstantiation; of which I know not whether be the more abominable to God and destructive of the souls of men. The Mass is, as stated in the article, an action of the church by her priest, wherein she pretendeth that there is

offered unto God a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead. They pretend to found this upon our Lord's act and words in the institution of the Supper; alleging that he did there offer himself up under symbols of bread and wine, before he offered himself really upon the cross; and that, by saying "Do this in remembrance of me," he did institute priests, and commanded them to offer Him; as they say they actually do, every time they consecrate the bread and wine. These are their words in the third head of the doctrine of the Mass, agreed upon in the council of Trent: "Because the same Christ is sacrificed in the Mass without blood who was sacrificed on the cross with blood, this sacrifice is propitiatory; and God, appeased with this offering, bestoweth the gift of repentance, and remitteth all sins; the offering and (by the priests) the offerer being the same who formerly offered himself on the cross, only in a diverse manner: so that this of the Mass doth not derogate from that of the cross; yea, by this the fruits of that are received; which is offered for the sins, punishments, and necessities of the faithful, and also for the dead not fully purged."—How this contradicts the Epistle to the Hebrews, where Christ is said to have "offered himself once for all," and "by one sacrifice to have for ever perfected all them that are sanctified," and to have "brought in eternal redemption," I do not stand to expose; but simply declare, that it makes void the cross of Christ, and transfers into the hands of the church the power and value of that great action whereby a church was bought. If, as they say, the fruits of the Cross are re-

ceived through the sacrifice of the Mass, and not without it, then what is to be inferred, but that the sacrifice of the Mass is the sacrifice which must chiefly be trusted in; that which includeth being always to be preferred to that which it includeth, the greater to the less, the nearer to the more remote: and that this effect hath been produced who will deny, that knoweth any thing of the economy of a Papal congregation? What meets you every where, but Masses for the dead? what is the great traffic of the church, but Masses for the living and the dead?—most commonly, Masses for the dead, and indulgences and dispensations for the living.

But the evil of Transubstantiation, which groweth out of the same root, is perhaps greater still; for while the Mass doth only make void the cross of Christ, Transubstantiation doth make void likewise the worship of the invisible God. High Mass is the highest act of worship in the Papal church; and high Mass is the worship of a wafer: for they believe, as it is said in the article, that the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity, of our Lord Jesus Christ, are there present; and so they worship the host when the priest exalteth it between his hands. If there be idolatry in the world, this is idolatry,—The priest taketh a piece of bread: with many unintelligible signs, words, and actions he goeth on to treat it: and at the end of the mysterious mummery he lifteth up, and the people worship that which he has made: they worship it as God; they worship it as the King Immortal, Eternal, and Invisible, the only living and true God. In

a statue there is a certain form of reason, at least, suggested to the mind: there is also the idea of beauty, or of might, or of bounty, or of goodness, according to the emblems with which the idol is adorned: but here is there nothing but the juggle and craft of a priest, out of whose hands it cometh the same round wafer which it was when it entered into them. Then it was a morsel for a bird to peck at; now it is the thing for reasonable men to worship!!! I say, of all idolatries which the world in its weakness and wickedness hath invented, this idolatry is the basest and the most brutal. But the end of it is not yet: for when this thing hath been worshipped, they then proceed to eat it, not by act of faith—for what hath faith to do with flesh and blood, but by act of sensual eating, for the purpose of incorporation with the mortal substance of this our tabernacle of dust! Now, I look not at this matter as a Liberal, but as a Theologian; not to mock the mysteries of faith, but to protect and preserve them; and I ask, if, when that wafer was worshipped, it was worshipped as the Divinity, or Humanity, of Christ? As both, answereth the article before me: "The body and blood, together with the soul and divinity, of our Lord Jesus Christ." Then, I say, is not this which was worshipped the same also that is eaten? Then you eat the Divinity, as well as the Humanity! you become consubstantial with the Divinity, as well as the humanity! And this verily is to mingle God with man, to confuse the creature with the Creator, and to subvert all worship and all dependence. But, moreover, the evil ends not here.

This error of transubstantiation goes to abolish the incarnation itself: for if Christ took my flesh and blood in the incarnation, what need is there that I should have them back again from him? and if it be needful that I have flesh and blood from him, then is it manifest that he had not flesh and blood of me, but flesh and blood of a better kind, of some other kind; and so the incarnation is made void. If ever there was an invention of the devil to destroy the worship of the living and true God, to bring him under the handling of priests, and exalt priests both above God and Christ, this horrible Mass and Transubstantiation is that invention of the devil, which maketh void incarnation, sacrifice, faith, spirit, worship, at one fell blow.

6. The 18th article is in these words: "I confess that under one kind only whole and entire Christ and the true sacrament is taken and received."—What a thing is here! what a blow at Christ's own word to his disciples, "Drink ye all of it;" to the apostle's instructions to the Corinthian church, where he makes the cup as much the subject of his discourse to the whole church as he doth the bread, and speaks of their holding the Lord's Supper in the way he instructs them, when they are met together! And what an insolence it is to the church, for her priesthood to deprive her of the cup! Oft have I sought for some ground, occasion, or defence of such wickedness, but to this day have found none. I am not going to enter into the apologies for this spoliation, this worst of sacrileges, to which the robbing and the burning of all the churches in

Christendom were but a petty offence; but I will endeavour to shew what the nature of the sacrilege is. In the bread, as the Papists say, the whole commonness of Christ's body is given; not indeed carnally, but spiritually; not to the receiving of sense, but of faith. There is no need, therefore, as they well enough allege, that any thing should be added, in order to our possessing the complete community of Christ's body. But the cup addeth that of which they have never dreamed in all their scholastic inquiries, but which the simple interpretation of the words spoken over it doth declare: "This is the new testament in my blood, shed for the remission of sins." As distinctly, therefore, as the bread is referred to Christ's body, so distinctly is the cup referred to the new testament. If communication of Christ's redeemed, sanctified, saved humanity, be the thing presented unto faith in the bread, then communication of the new testament, whatever that be, is the thing presented unto faith in the cup. Now, what is the new testament? or, to answer the previous question, what is the old testament? The old testament is the Land of Canaan, bequeathed unto the children of Israel by the mediation of Moses, on condition of their keeping the Law: which having failed to do, they lost the conditional grant, until Christ, by keeping the Law, obtained it in full right unto himself, to bestow it upon those whom the Father had been pleased to call under that old-testament dispensation. But the new testament, pointed at in the cup, is the bequest of a better inheritance, which is pur-

chased by a dearer price than Christ's life, even by the price of his death—by the price of his blood, shed for the remission of sins. And what is this "purchased inheritance," whereof the "Spirit is the earnest until the day of redemption?" I answer, in the words of the Apostle (Heb. ix.), the "heavenly things, which needed to be purified by better sacrifices than these;"—"the inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in the heavens, and ready to be revealed in the last time." I answer, the inheritance of all things: (Heb. i. 2) "whom he hath appointed heir of all things." Christ by his blood hath put away sin from the creation of God, and thereby hath redeemed not the souls and bodies of men only, nor the earth only, but the heavens and the heaven of heavens, which acknowledge their stability unto Christ's work in flesh, as they acknowledge their original to his work in creation. This redeemed creation—creation redeemed either from the actual possession or the possible invasion of sin—Christ hath purchased by his blood, shed for the remission of sin; and it is his own, to give it to whomsoever it pleaseth the Father to give unto him. And in the cup he doth bequeath the same unto all whom the Father hath drawn unto him, whom first he did regenerate, and gave them power to become the sons of God, whom afterwards he did sustain in his body, and upon his body by nourishment of the Spirit, and whom in the communion, he doth pledge first with the fellowship of his body, both humbled and glorified, and with a share of his inheritance, as a king and a priest: as it is written (Rev. xxi.),

"He that overcometh shall inherit all things;" and again (Romans viii.), "And if children, then heirs, heirs of God and joint-heirs with Christ;" and again (Rev. iii.), "To him that overcometh will I give to sit down on my throne, even as I have overcome, and am set down with my Father in his throne." Fellowship, therefore, of his diadem and throne, participation of his eternal inheritance of all nations; this, truly, is the thing promised, pledged, sealed, and conveyed in the cup. And wot ye, then, of how much the sacrilegious robbers of Constance and of Trent have spoiled the church of God, when they took away by absolute decree that rich and royal pledge, that all-sufficient inheritance with which Christ did betroth unto himself his beloved spouse? These priests have dared to disinherit the people, and to take away the patrimony of Christ unto themselves. Wretched robbers that ye are, were there nothing else for which I would not call a Roman priest brother, for this I would not do it, that in broad day-light, and in solemn council, ye have robbed my mother of that which my Father left her to sustain her widowhood withal.

And now we come to the nineteenth article of this infamous creed, which says of itself, that it is "the true catholic faith, out of which none can be saved."

7. Article 19. "I do firmly believe that there is a Purgatory, and that the souls there do receive help by the suffrages of the faithful."—The decree concerning purgatory, to which the Council of Trent came, hath here fixed a pure lie upon the faith of Christians, and one of the most fearful

in its consequences which can be found amongst all the twelve impositions. By giving to the living the hope of benefiting the dead, they rack the soul of affection, and wring it with infinite torture; bringing in upon the survivors fears and feelings which they have no means of reducing to calculation, save the calculation of masses; which they have no means of mitigating by sympathy, save the sympathy of the priest's avarice. And what an imposition it is upon the troubled hearts of sorrowing kindred, to have presented unto them shapeless fears and undefined terrors, in addition to all the agonies of bereaved affection and helpless sorrow! and what a death-bed it makes of bargaining and barter, between avaricious priests and conscience-stricken sinners! and what a life of prolonged dissipation and wickedness it breedeth, in those who know that in their will they have snugly made sure of their souls by the endowment of a chapelry, or the bequest of a legacy for keeping up a continual mass beside their tomb! But this is not all: what a spoliation of God's free grace to the penitent! at all times, and in all seasons, even in the article of death, what a hiding of the glory of Christ's free gift from perishing sinners, what a falsifying of the Gospel of peace unto distressed souls! Ah me! but there is something more terrible still, in poor man, puny man, daring to determine upon the condition of persons within the veil; to put his oar across the gulf, and steer the voyage of souls in the dark unknown of eternity. I declare there is nothing too much, there is nothing too bad, there is nothing too daring, for that abominable harlot to have thought of, and

to have done. Time would fail me if I were to enlarge—nor is it necessary, upon an article whose effects are too well written in the history of the world ever to be forgotten.

8. Article 20. "I do likewise believe, that the saints, reigning together with Christ, are to be honoured and invocated unto; and that they do offer prayers unto God for us; and that their relics are to be had in veneration."—This is not a pure lie, like purgatory, but it is a most cunning deception. For that the saints do offer prayers unto God and the Lamb, is most true, as we learn Rev. v. 8: but the cunning deceivers have taken care to hide from us that these prayers, which they offer, are not prayers of their own, but prayers of the saints who are upon the earth. That the saints in glory go and come between the church on earth and Christ, is most true; but that they have power to add weight to our prayers, hath no foundation in the Holy Scriptures; and that they are to be worshipped in any way is contradicted, directly contradicted, by the refusal of the saint who shewed John the marvels of the Apocalypse, but would not suffer himself to be worshipped. But, O knaves that you are! who taught the Pope of Rome the names of the saints in heaven, that he should canonize them one by one? Base pander of the devil! what right hath he to people heaven with the pandemonium of Rome? Wretched mimic of infallibility! where learnedst thou the craft and mystery of making thy minions saints of God? This, which the article cunningly hides, is the gist of the deception, the body of the super-

stition, the substance of the wickedness. To honour the church in heaven, who would forbid? Next to Christ, the saints in heaven are the most honourable and dignified of all creatures; but to say that such a man, who lived some fourscore years ago, after a mock-trial at the city of Rome, shall have the honour and invocation of all Christendom, how fearful a thing it is! —Will the wretched man not be content with making purgatory and peopling it; must he people heaven also? Oh, mocker of God! what fearful thing awaiteth thee! And, granting thee thy presumptuous power of putting whom it pleaseth thee upon the thrones in heaven, by what mockery of mankind darest thou to give sacredness to their vile flesh and blood? Thou hypocrite! canst thou sanctify their very bones? Their sinful dust, which the worm doth not reverence, nor corruption stand apart from, canst thou sanctify? Oh what a power of hell is here! to make the rottenness of the grave honourable, to make dead men's bones beloved and dear! Oh thou mocker of mankind to open the graves, and make men bow down to corruption! This surely is the devil's arch mock; and what the effect of it hath been, let all Christendom testify; every village of which has its tutelar saint, who hath ninety-nine hundredth parts of all the worship. What are their high-days and their holy days? are they not their saints' days? What are their riches? are they not their dead men's bones? My indignation riseth within me. If I had the power, I would make such havoc of their shrines and idols and relics and crosses, as did the fathers of the Scottish

Reformation in their day. But we do not insist upon such an abhorred subject: yet how we shall find a better I know not, for this creed grows worse and worse; and therefore I hasten through the four articles still remaining.

9. Article 21. "I do most firmly assert, that the images of Christ, and the mother of God, ever a virgin, and also of other saints, ought to be had and retained, and that due honour and veneration are to be given to them."—Against this twenty-first article I set the Second Commandment, which thus ordaineth for ever: "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth: thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them: for I, the Lord thy God, am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me, and shewing mercy unto thousands of them that love me and keep my commandments." Images of Christ! Ye idolaters! And what is Christ? Is he not the Image of the invisible God? And seeing God has made an Image of himself, wherein he hath expressed the fulness of the Godhead bodily, will ye go to carve it out in stone, and wood, and brass, and iron, and silver, and gold? Ye heathens! who did take the images under which they worshipped Venus and Jupiter, and the rest of their abominations, that ye might worship under them this ever-a-virgin mother of God, as ye call her, and St. Peter, whose name and dignity ye have so abused! Strumpet-dressed in the cast-off garments of Paganism, what a hideous creature thou

art! Thou wilt make images of Christ! Well, the stone be thine; the absent glory be mine: hug the marble to thy cold breast, while I take living glory into the bosom of my faith. Shalt thou only have a dispensation to worship God by an image? O thou apostate, wilt thou not yield the same privilege to thy sisters, Paganism, Brahmanism, Buddhism? Oh, if I could be patient with these instruments of soul destruction, I would discourse to you concerning the degradation of the spirit which there is in all such image-worship; the quickening of the flesh; the instigation of the lust of the eye, of the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life. It is not true that these pictures and statues help the soul in her affections: the soul which is truly and deeply affected to another soul, wants not, and will not have, such interventions. Doth true feeling thrive on tragic representation? doth true virtue feed on comic exposures of vice? doth upright delight in satire, caricature, or farce? doth heroic valour love sights of blood and carnage? No, oh never! So true devotion and worship hath nothing to do with images, and pictures, and ornaments, and relics, and such like trumpery, but liveth in the soul; expresseth itself in winged words, which seek the heavens; rejoiceth in high discourse; loseth itself in large contemplation; forgetteth space and time; dwelleth in the invisible, and hasteth towards the eternal; and glorieth in the unseen realities of faith, "the evidence of things not seen, the substance of things hoped for." I stay not to notice the assumption which is under the words "ever a virgin," and likewise the theological fallacy therein shut up, in order to have

done with this disgusting creed, which grows worse and worse to the end, and which nothing would justify us in laying before you, were it not the creed solemnly sworn to and professed by eight or nine millions of our fellow-subjects, and by an hundred millions of our fellow-men. This is what gives to it an awful importance.

10. Article 22. "I do affirm that the power of indulgences was left by Christ to the church, and that the use of them is most wholesome to Christian people." And, in opposition to the Pope and the Trentine council, I do affirm, upon grounds of sound reason and Divine revelation, that indulgences have never been permitted by God to any church to give; and that, where given, they are the destruction of all law and of all morality. The first beginning of indulgences in the church seemeth to be this: In the primitive ages of discipline, when Christians felt reverence for the authority of the church, and the church took a parental authority over her children, the custom was, for every sin, into which a brother might be betrayed, to impose some penance; which in many instances amounted to years' deprivation of church privileges. These several penances were laid down by exact canons, drawn up in the various councils of the church. When, therefore, any person, in his ordinary confession to the priest, did reveal his lapses and backslidings and errors and transgressions, and the priest had imposed the appointed acts of penance for the appointed period, they must either be gone through by the penitent, or absolution and restoration to the church would not be permitted. But in process

of time, according as the spirit of piety and humility which prompted and obeyed the original canons began to die away, then, as the canons could not be changed by an infallible church, and as there was no longer spirit to obey them, it became necessary to introduce a dispensing or indulging power: and this is true of canonical laws in general. These indulgences consisted at first in offerings to the poor, or to the church, the guardian of the poor, according to the appointment of the ordinary. Now, this is so very natural a thing, that I have seen the inclination to it in that church of which I am a minister. The penances in the Church of Scotland appointed for several offences are exceedingly severe; and, amongst others, that for irregular marriages by voluntary contract entered into in the presence of witnesses, without the publication of banns in the church. I remember, in my native parish, which is close upon the border, these marriages became so frequent, that, instead of the penance of standing before the church and being publicly rebuked, it was proposed by the minister that they should pay a fine to the poor, by way of acknowledgment of their transgression. But, though the poor-roll was heavy enough in our parish, and the income would have been very convenient, yet, such is the anti-papal instinct of the country, that the elders resisted, and two of them actually laid down their offices rather than suffer such an innovation; and such is the liberalism of the times, that they were thought wonderful bigots for their pains!—Now that I have related one anecdote, I may relate another, very

illustrative of the same antipathy to ecclesiastical impositions in the Kirk of Scotland. It began, some thirty or forty years ago, to be required of the parishes to be more exact in keeping registers of baptisms; and, that the session-clerk might be more careful in this matter, it was proposed to remunerate him at the small rate of a sixpence for every registry. Now, you must know, that in all the offices of the Scotch Church every thing is gratuitous: there are no fees whatsoever; and, such is the anti-papal (and I may be permitted to say, for the truth's sake, anti-episcopal) instincts of the Kirk, that the people in a country parish, in my own native county, stoutly resisted the innovation, because they said it was like paying for ordinances. And I confess, though some may smile, I do deeply feel the principle, and greatly admire the wisdom, with which my fellow-townsmen and my fellow-dalesmen acted in these matters. Would that Christendom had been as long-sighted and as wise! the abuse of indulgences would never have found its way into the church. It did not arise till towards the year 1100, when all manner of papal errors took a fearful stride, under Pope Hildebrand. But yet, for two centuries more they continued to be used only in commutation of fasts, and other penances pertaining to external impositions of the church, but not unto the conscience. But from the year 1300, until the time that Luther arose in the greatness of his might and published his ninety-five Conclusions against indulgences, they were regularly carried about, and cried up and down the country, as absolute permissions of the church

to indulge in this and in that crime, both against the canons of the church, and against the laws of conscience and of God. The Pope, Leo the Tenth, dared to set forth, in a bull, the validity of indulgences, and his own power, as successor of Peter and vicar of Christ, to grant them for the living and for the dead; and this the Council of Trent confirmed, anathematizing all who say that they are unprofitable: and thus hath it been fixed as an article of faith in the infallible church. I have read the history of the Trent Council, and their decrees, with the view of finding if there be any limitation as to the extent of indulgences, any bringing of them back to their primitive intention; but I can find none, save in the manner of the collecting of them, which is no longer permitted to be hired or farmed out, but to be done by each bishop within his own diocese, with reference, through the provincial synod, unto the Pope: and, in confirmation hereof, the last thing that was done in this infamous council was to grant unto every one that was present in the session, and had assisted in the council, a plenary indulgence. Seeing, then, that the doctrine of indulgencies standeth in the papal church in that same unlimited extent in which it was employed by Urban the Second,—who granted a plenary indulgence and remission of all sins to every one who went on the crusade, and afterwards to every one who maintained a soldier in that service, and afterwards to every one who would take arms against those who refused obedience to the Church of Rome, and afterwards for every convenient, ambitious, or avaricious end of the Pope,—what can we say less, than that

this article, upholding the use of them, and maintaining the wholesomeness of such a use, doth entirely destroy the responsibility of the conscience unto God and unto the church, by turning it into a matter of money; doth cut up all moral obligations by the root; doth open the door to all immoralities and crimes; doth use God's name and God's authority to loosen the bonds of society, the obligations of law, the principles of human nature, and every thing else most venerable and sacred? And, being coupled with the most damnable lie of the great treasury of saints' merits, whereof the Pope had the key, to send them forth, and serve them out, and sell them, to every wicked unprincipled creature; when connected with and extended to purgatory—that lever to work the inmost souls of men—its influence as an article of faith is hateful and pernicious beyond all understanding. I do not know that there is such a thing in the records of any other superstition which hath ever been practised by the children of men. If I were to characterize the papal system in its practical workings, I would say, that it was a great combination and conspiracy against the interests of religion, of morality, of society, of law and of government, of personal peace and contentment over the whole world; which hath adopted into its worship every thing in the pagan superstition: their use of incense, in religious offices, their multitude of altars in their great churches, their use of holy water at the entrance to their churches—all of which the early Christians protested against and the Christian emperors made criminal—the suspension of vo-

tive offerings around the shrines of saints, their adopting the very names and uses of the heathen temples; and, in short, gathering idolatry and superstition from all quarters and ages of the world. And, while thus it perverteth all worship, perverting all morality, by substituting penances, pilgrimages, vows, and other such acts of the will, instead of the knowledge of God to enlighten the conscience, and the love of God and man to guide the conscience; for every crime having a convenient absolution, for every proposed wickedness having an easy price. And, while thus it subverts all morals, tending continually to disturb the peace of those who might find peace through the ways of righteousness, by imposing upon them burdens of the church, which never cease from grieving, and galling them with fears of God's displeasure, while they are only bugbears of crafty and deluded men. And who is the head of this confederacy and conspiracy against human nature? what person representeth it? who do the deluded votaries of it look up to as their priest and king?

11. Hear the next Article. "I do acknowledge the holy catholic and Apostolic church to be the mother and mistress of all churches; and I do promise and swear true obedience to the bishop of Rome, the successor of St. Peter, prince of the apostles, and the vicar of Jesus Christ on earth." —She calls herself "mother and mistress of all churches;" the Apocalypse calleth her "mother of all abominations." I have already shewn in these Discourses, whence, and at what time, she derived unto herself this usurped supremacy of the churches; and how it was resisted in the beginning, and only

came to be successful after the time of Justinian, when it passed into law. I have shewn how this supremacy of the churches gradually, yea, and necessarily, wrought its way unto the supremacy of the kingdoms; and upon this subject I need not further insist. But I do entreat your attention to the concluding words of this article, which are, "I do promise and swear true obedience to the Bishop of Rome." There is no limitation of any kind; there is no exception made for the allegiance which they owe to their lawful kings: the language is of the most ample and unqualified kind: "I do swear true obedience to the Bishop of Rome." This is their creed; this is the "true catholic faith, out of which," they say, "none can be saved." There is no limitation even of council: in one word, it is absolute obedience of body and of soul. And, moreover, hear in what right this is claimed, "as vicar of Christ upon earth." What is meant by a vicar? One who stands in the stead of another. And here, then, he claims a standing in the stead of Christ upon the earth, as representing him in this world. Now I ask, if that is a divided allegiance to which Christ is entitled? Is Christ head only of the spiritual; or is he not head of the temporal also? And if the Pope be in Christ's room, as every Papist sweareth, dares he to forego the temporal? He dares not, on his responsibility to Christ. The Pope believes that he is Christ's vicar; all Papists believe the same; and, believing this, he must insist for the temporal supremacy, and they must help him to obtain it. Oh! I wonder what our statesmen dreamt of, when they thought that they could separate and dissolve these two juris-

dictions, which necessarily co-exist, and cannot be separate in the Papacy. They could not surely be ignorant of this creed, which is not of yesterday, but as old as the Council of Trent; being the embodied substance of that council's decrees; being printed in all their missals and prayer-books; and circulated to a prodigious extent through the kingdom of Ireland, being formed into a tract, of which the twelfth Dublin edition bears date 1824. Oh, it is pitiful blindness! The Lord has given us up! the Lord has given up! We are no longer a nation of Protestants; we are a nation of Liberals, to whom religious truth, and religious error, and religion itself, have become altogether indifferent. It is not that they love the Papacy, it is not that they hate Protestantism, but that unto all religions they are alike indifferent. We have raised our voice in vain—our king hath done the deed!—his people now must hang their heads and mourn; but, oh, while life remains, while reason holds the seat of judgment, and the word of God is our infallible counsellor, we will not cease to lift up our voice against that system of error, which hath changed times, and forestalled the age to come, and introduced upon the earth a vicarage of Christ, and fixed it in the person of a mortal man. But the time shall come when such vicarages shall exist upon this earth, being filled by risen saints, incapable of evil, being incapable of death. And the time shall come, as I believe, when these innumerable worlds—or rather, I should say, not innumerable, but very, very numerous—shall each have their vicar of Christ over them; who shall hold the rule and the government, in-

stead of Him who is Head over all the creation of God. Oh, it was such a vantage ground for our king, to stand up the single advocate of this purpose of God, which that system of iniquity had changed. Here he sat alone, like Abdiel in the region of the north, faithful found alone amongst the faithless. But, woe worth the day! this our dignity is forfeited and gone! Amen; for the Lord hath willed it so.

12. And now hear the last Article of this most heterodox creed. "I do undoubtedly receive and profess all other things which have been delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred canons, and œcumenical councils, and especially by the holy synod of Trent; and all things contrary thereunto, and all heresies condemned, rejected, and anathematized by the church, I do likewise condemn, reject, and anathematize."—Now, I do not believe there is a single man in Christendom, or in the wide world, who is capable of declaring any such thing. There is not a living man—no, not one—who knows what the canons and councils have said upon every subject. And what a thing then is it, to require of every poor unlettered man—of you, of me, of the thousands in this metropolis who know not the hundredth part of what we know—to say that they undoubtedly receive and profess, what they have never heard of even with the hearing of the ear! Observe, moreover, the bad pre-eminence unto which the Council of Trent is promoted, answering exactly to that place which we have given it in the beginning of this Discourse.

And now hear the solemn act of personal asseveration and oath with which this creed con-

cludes. "This true Catholic faith, out of which none can be saved, which I now freely profess and truly hold, I (N. or M.) promise, vow, and swear, most constantly to hold and profess the same, whole and entire, with God's assistance, to the end of my life. Amen."—Can there be any thing more explicit than this? "Out of which none can be saved." It is not as if it were one creed amongst many; but it is *the* creed of a Papist, out of which he cannot be saved, out of which he saith that no man can be saved. And not a part of it, but "the same whole and entire," is necessary to salvation. It is necessary to salvation that I should believe in all things which all councils have decreed; that I should believe that the Pope is vicar of Christ, and the Roman church mother and mistress of all churches; that the church hath power to give plenary indulgences of all sins; that the images of Christ, of the virgin, and of every saint, are to be retained, honoured, and venerated; that I must honour and call upon saints by name, and have their relics in veneration; that I must believe in purgatory; that I must deprive you of the cup; that I must give you flesh and blood in the supper, and a wafer to worship for your God; that we must believe that after baptism there is no wicked nature in us, and that our works merit justification equally with the work of Christ; and that there be seven sacraments; and that I ought not to interpret the Holy Scriptures for myself; and that I ought to receive as Gospel all the mummery of the Romish church; and unless I do so, I cannot be saved!! What an imposition upon man is this! And this is what our

Papal fellow-subjects are sworn to, every man. I declare, if I desired to stir strife, instead of being a man of peace, I could rouse without an effort such an indignation against this creed, as would again reunite the wrath—I say not of Protestant, I say not of Christian, but—of reasonable men; as would lead them to re-enact the scenes which are Scotland's proudest glory, that, while we meddled not with the men, nor harmed a hair of their heads, we demolished with one blow the vestiges of their superstition and their wickedness throughout our land. But better it is, and more profitable, to content ourselves with the simple reading of the Nicene Creed, to which this Trentine creed is always attached; for, as if God in pity of poor souls would join the orthodox catholic verity with the heterodox schismatic Roman lie, it is their use and wont to combine the twelve articles of the Nicene Creed with the twelve articles of the Trentine creed, and present them together. This, then, is the Nicene Creed, which they have coupled with the Trentine creed—life coupled with corruption, light joined to darkness:

"I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible: (2) And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God; begotten of his Father before all worlds; God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God; begotten, not made; being of one substance with the Father; by whom all things were made; (3) who for us men and our salvation came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made man; (4) and was

crucified for us under Pontius Pilate; suffered, and was buried; (5) and the third day rose again, according to the Scriptures; (6) and ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father; (7) and he shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead; whose kingdom shall have no end: (8) And I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of life; who proceedeth from the Father and the Son; who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified; who spake by the prophets: (9) I believe one catholic Apostolic church: (10) I acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins: (11) I look for the resurrection of the dead, (12) and the life of the world to come. Amen."

Be ye judges then, men and brethren, between the faith of the fourth and the faith of the sixteenth century. Pronounce ye, whether the faith of the Protestant church, or the faith of the Papal apostasy, be conformable to the faith of the Nicene fathers; before whose time the church had borne the brunt of ten persecutions, and brought down by her faithfulness Paganism, and was entered into the controversy with Arianism. Judge, finally, concerning the wickedness and blasphemy of the words which the little horn spake; and whether upon these twelve counts she is not well worthy of the judgment that was passed upon her, which we shall open in our next discourse.

But, lest any one should say (as they do not hesitate to say any thing), that the spirit of the Papal doctrine is abated, or its form of doctrine altered, by the progress of time, I have to add to this discourse a brief account of the treatment

which the Jansenists, a body of pious, and in most respects orthodox, men in the Church of Rome, have received at the hands of the Pope. In the time of the Council of Trent, Michael Baius, a doctor of Louvaine, was chosen to teach divinity, while Heselius, the proper professor, was absent at the council upon affairs connected with the university; and in his absence he introduced a method of teaching divinity different from the scholastic method; in which he treated of the attributes of God, the incarnation of Christ, grace, the sacraments, &c. For this he was prosecuted at Rome, and a bull was issued against him by Pope Pius the Fifth, the successor of Pius the Fourth, whose creed we have examined above. This bull contained strict injunctions, that no one should treat of those things handled by Baius upon pain of excommunication; which, truly, was no less than to excommunicate all the divines of the world, if they should treat of divinity at all. But this bull received a more exact form under the pontificate of Paul the Fifth, who was contemporary with James the First of England; who condemned the works of Baius in general; anathematizing seventy-nine propositions, amongst which are the following.

"16. There is no obedience of the law without sin."

"25. All the works of unbelievers are sins, and the virtues of philosophers are vices."

"27. Free-will, without the assistance of the grace of God, serves only to sin."

"35. Whatsoever the sinner, or servant of sin, doth, is sin."

38. "The love which the rational creature hath, is either that inordinate desire by which the world is loved, and which is forbidden by the Apostle John; or that praiseworthy grace of love spread abroad in the heart by the Holy Ghost, by which God is loved."

These, and other such propositions, amounting in all to seventy-nine, were extracted from the writings of Baius, and condemned by Pius the Fifth in the sixteenth century, and Paul the Fifth in the seventeenth century, as heretical, rash, and scandalous to pious ears. This bull, which was most acceptable to the Jesuits and monks, gave great offence to men of learning, who laboured to refute from the writings of the fathers the false divinity of the Jesuits and the monks: and it was no less offensive to the secular clergy, as well the dignified as the parochial, who laboured to defend the people from the abominable morality which the Jesuits inculcated, and of which you have so admirable a refutation in the Provincial Letters of Pascal. These opponents of the bull received the name of Baïanists, until Jansenius, bishop of Ypres, perceiving the wretched consequences to religion and morality which were every where overspreading his diocese, set forth a large treatise, entitled "Augustine concerning Grace," wherein he demonstrated at great length how much that venerable father of the church was opposed to the doctrine of the Jesuits. This book they procured the condemnation of by a stratagem, in the time of Pope Alexander the Ninth, in a bull or mandate which is called The Formulary; but it required all the influence of Louis the Fourteenth to bring the bishops to submit

to it: yet many of the bishops, and great numbers of the clergy of the second order, would never receive the Formulary of Pope Alexander the Ninth, but laid down their charge and went into voluntary banishment. But the wickedness of the Papal system was to be put to a yet more decisive proof, and its abhorrence of the truth as it is in Jesus was to be demonstrated in yet a blacker hue. This was done by the condemnation of Father Quesnelle's translation of the New Testament, in the beginning of the last century. This learned and pious divine translated the New Testament into the French language, and wrote upon every verse moral and doctrinal remarks; and his book soon obtained that general esteem among the pious which it deserved; but, becoming obnoxious to the Roman authority, was condemned by Clement the Ninth, in his famous bull or constitution "Unigenitus." This constitution Unigenitus extracted one hundred and one propositions from Quesnelle's book, and cursed them as heretical and abominable; and of these one hundred and one propositions there is hardly any one which doth not contain a great vital truth. To shew forth at large what things the Pope dared to accurse, we propose to select, almost at random, a few of the articles of this famous constitution, which was issued on the 8th of May, 1713. Several bishops, and a great number of the secular clergy, who would not receive this constitution, were banished, interdicted, or imprisoned: infinite numbers of the people were put to great hardships and privations, being deprived of all spiritual comfort in the time of sickness and of death, because they would not condemn

these propositions, which the Pope and his cardinals condemned; for it became a test throughout the whole Gallican church, and, indeed, wherever Jansenism was suspected to exist.

In reading the articles which we are about to quote, I have one favour to ask of you, that you would say at the end of each, "And this is what the Pope, only one century ago, condemned and accursed as false, captious, harsh, capable of wounding pious ears, scandalous, pernicious, rash, injurious to the church and its customs, affronting not only that but the secular powers, seditious, impious, blasphemous, suspected of heresy, smelling rank of heresy, favourable to heretics, heresies, and to schism, erroneous, near akin to heresy, and often condemned; finally, as heretical, and as renewing divers heresies," &c. I am sorry that I cannot quote the bull and the articles at length: I give these as a specimen of the doctrine judged heretical by the Papacy.

"15. When God accompanies his command and exterior word with the unction of his Spirit and the inward force of his grace, it produces that change and the obedience that is required in the heart."

"21. The grace of Jesus Christ is efficacious grace, powerful, supreme, invincible, because it is the operation of an Omnipotent Will; it is the effect and imitation of the operation of bringing his Son into flesh and raising him from the dead."

"24. The just idea which the Centurion had of the omnipotency of Christ in curing bodies by the

motion of his will, is the representation of the idea which ought to be had of the omnipotency of his grace in delivering souls from sin."

"26. No graces are given but by faith."

"28. The first grace which God grants to a sinner, is the remission of sins."

"32. Christ delivered himself to death, to free for ever by his blood the first-born, that is to say the elect, from the hand of the destroying angel."

"44. There are but two principles of love, whence all our desires and actions do spring —namely, the love of God, which acts all things for God, and which God recompenses; and the love by which we prefer ourselves and the world, which doth not render what should be rendered unto God, and becomes evil on that account."

"47. Obedience of the law ought to flow from a fountain, and that fountain is love: when the love of God is its internal spring, and the glory of God its end, then is that pure which appeareth so outwardly: otherwise it is but hypocrisy and false righteousness."

"52. All the other means of salvation are contained in faith, as their root and seed; but this faith is not without love and confidence."

"69. Faith, the practice, increase, and reward of faith, are all purely the gift and good-will of God."

"71. A man, upon the account of his own preservation, may dispense with that law which God made for his advantage."

"80. The Holy Scriptures are to be read by all men."

"81. The sacred obscurity of the word of God

is no reason for the laity's dispensing with the reading of it."

"84. The taking of the New Testament out of Christians' hands, and keeping it closed upon them, by depriving them of the means of understanding it, is nothing else but to hinder them from the instructions of Christ."

From this time forth the Lord seems to have left the Papacy without a witness: from this time forth began the wicked leaven of infidelity to work, instead of the good leaven of Jansenism: then arose Voltaire, Rousseau, D'Alembert, Diderôt, and the Encyclopædists, in room of Baius, Jansenius, Quesnelle, Arnaud, Nicole, Pascal, and the Jansenists. The Lord gave the Papacy up to itself: he took his witnesses out from the midst of it; and straightway out of its corruption arose those locusts from the pit, who went on disseminating their poisonous doctrines, until they had destroyed the whole constitution, both the ecclesiastical and the political, of the kingdom of France; wherein God had maintained so strong a controversy for the truth ever since the time of the Council of Trent. But, after that by the revocation of the edict of Nantes the Hugunots were driven forth of the kingdom, and the Jansenists by the constitution Unigenitus, which we extracted from above, the salt was taken out of the French kingdom, and corruption proceeded apace, until the sore broke out over the whole body. The breaking out of this sore was the first vial of wrath, the first stroke of judgment upon the fourth beast; which proceeded from one act to another, until it is now arrived at

the seventh and last, in which the wrath of God shall be fully accomplished.

Thus have we set forth in order the wicked words which the little horn spake against the truth, during the time, times, and half a time of its appointed domination; and we have set forth the succession of witnesses for the truth, which God ever maintained in the heart of Babylon, that "hold of every unclean beast, and nest of every foul bird." God would have healed it, but healed it would not be. God, ever loth to do his work of strange judgment, put it off for a long season; raised up many witnesses—Albigenses, Waldenses, Lollards, Hussites, Protestants, Jansenists—but they cast them out, they persecuted and slew them. Its case was irremediable: mercy and grace it spurned, prediction and threatening of judgment it set at nought: there was no method left of dealing with it but by actual judgment. That judgment came on by successive acts, to give them time and opportunity of repentance; and now it hath been suspended for nearly fifteen years. But it is vain: during these years that accursed order of the Jesuits, who since the Reformation had been most active in wickedness; which was the first visited by the wrath of God, being expelled by all the kingdoms, and suppressed by the Pope himself: that wicked order hath been restored; and, with it, the ambition of the Roman see hath been awakened, and hath prevailed in this kingdom over all the bulwarks with which our fathers had defended the Protestant constitution of this our kingdom. Instead of any signs of repentance, there have been manifested against the holy word of God an inveterate opposition,

and a deadly hatred, hitherto unexampled in the history even of the Papacy itself. I have not by me the bulls which the Pope hath issued against the reading and circulating of the Bible, otherwise I would add them to the constitution Unigenitus; which I recommend to my hearers, as the confirmation unto the end of all that hath been said by the little horn blasphemous against God, contrary to the truth, and to every good word and and work reprobate.

If any one doubts what the mouth of the little horn has uttered within the last century, and what he now utters, let him go back to the one hundred and one condemned articles of Quesnelle's translation of the New Testament, and, reading each, say, "This the mouth of the little horn hath accursed, and this, and this;" and then say, if he has not, by contradicting the whole truth of God's word, deserved all the judgments written therein; if, by denying the creed of the Christian church, he hath not excommunicated himself from the Christian church, and ought not to be accursed; as I do now, in the name of the Great Head of the church, excommunicate and give over to Satan him and all who will adhere to him. And of his judgment we feel ourselves now fully prepared to treat in our next Discourse.

DISCOURSE IX.

THE JUDGMENT OF THE FOURTH BEAST.

DANIEL vii. 9, 10, 11, 25, 26.

I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool: his throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire: a fiery stream issued and came forth from before him: thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the judgment was set, and the books were opened. I beheld then, because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake; I beheld, even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame.....And he shall speak great words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High, and think to change times and laws: and they shall be given into his hand, until a time and times and the dividing of time. But the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and to destroy it unto the end.

THE notion with which those that oppose the interpreters of prophecy do satisfy their ignorance, is, that prophecy is not intended to be understood till after its fulfilment: and it is amazing to see how well pleased the men are with this barren falsehood. This much, however, I will allow, that it

is the glory of God to conceal a matter; and when he doth reveal it, so to reveal it as that no man shall be able, as it were, to take the accomplishment of it into his own hand, so as to say, In this way must it come to pass, and in no other. God doth keep the manner of the accomplishment of prophecy in his own hand, but the thing to be accomplished he revealeth unto men: and thereby, while our hopes and our fears, our desires, and other affections, are all taken hold of by the event held out in prophecy, we are left to the freedom of a responsible will in choosing such a course as may be harmonious with the revealed mind of God. Prophecy, in its bearing upon the mind, is nothing different from promise, save in this one respect,—that it applies itself not only to the personal will, but likewise to the time and place, to the day and generation, to the church and nation, in which we exist; being, as it were, the binder of the unconfined will to the present condition of time and place under which a material body brings it. The acceptance of the promises will make a good man; but the acceptance of the prophecy is necessary to make a good churchman and a good citizen. The acceptance of the promise, and the rejection of the prophecy, will make a man solitary, mystical, separate and schismatical, and, in one word, selfish. The rejection of the promise, and the acceptance of the prophecy, will make a man ecclesiastical, political, social, observant of the ways of God, and apprehensive of his providence; but both together (and they are always conjoined in Scripture) will make a man both personally holy and socially good. For, while

prophecy, by the promise which it contains, acts upon my will to conform it unto God; by its application unto time and place it doth also act on my affections, to draw them out into the world whereof I am an inhabitant, unto the nation whereof I am a citizen, unto the church whereof I am a member: and so, taking hold not only of my personal will, but also of my social nature, it doth leave me as much liberty of action in the use of means as any promise doth. So that promise and prophecy, in respect to their action upon the mind, do only differ in this,—that prophecy embraceth a larger application than promise doth; and is therefore, to him that understandeth it, so much the more beneficial.

Now the advocates of this ignorance, and ignorance producing opinion, that prophecy is for the past and not for the future, when pressed with the question, And what then is the use of prophecy, if not intended to be known till after the event? make answer, It is intended to establish the foresight and foreknowledge of God, and to shew that he knows the end from the beginning. Well now, I will take thee at thy own word, and shew thee that this, which doubtless is one great end of prophecy, were not possible to be attained, save to a very few learned men, unless events as they were coming to pass could be known to be the fulfilment of prophecy. And to know that happening events—as, for example, the Turkish war, or the march of infidel intellect—are the fulfilment of prophecy, you must know the prophecy: you must know that such a prophecy is extant, and you must know also what it means: for how otherwise

shall you know the correspondence of an event unto a word, but by having that word in your mind and also in your understanding? To derive, therefore, the good lesson of God's foreknowledge and providence, it is necessary that the church should have her ear always open to the word of prophecy, and her eye always open to the events of providence which are coming to pass. But that the church's ear may be filled with prophecy, it is necessary that the ministers of the word should be opening prophecy, and continually marking the coincidence of events therewith. For you well know, brethren, that the world always hath been, always is, and ever will be, chiefly taken up with the events which are presently passing, and occupying their faculties: and therefore, if any effectual lesson of God's providence and foresight is to be taught, it must be taught from the demonstration of things now passing over our heads; for when the event is once past, it drops out of the memory of most, out of the interest of almost all. A few years, an age of man, and certainly a century, being past, the affairs of this world are, saving to a few scholars and a few readers, lost in oblivion. But God surely intended not his lessons of providence and foresight merely for a few learned and their disciples; for a few Christian antiquaries, and historiographers and readers of history; but to all his intelligent creatures, and especially to the age and country which any particular dispensation is affecting with its proper discipline. And to them will God, I believe, before the event comes, make his warning of it known: otherwise his warning were a matter of small avail indeed. But, besides

this, if a prophecy could not be interpreted till after the event, then, I say, it stands a hard chance of never being interpreted at all; or, if it be interpreted, of carrying little conviction to any reasonable examiner. A thing which cannot be interpreted in itself or from itself, is really unintelligible. That is the very definition of a thing unintelligible, that it admits no interpretation from itself. This is to make prophecy less available for good than the hieroglyphics of Egypt, which have yielded an interpretation from themselves. And what an idea it is of Divine revelation, that it should be more mysterious, and consequently more profitless, than an Egyptian hieroglyphic, which for thousands of years has stood mocking the ingenuity of men? If prophecy derive one part in ten of interpretation from historical accomplishment, then I would say, it derives the nine other parts from its own plain statement of the truth. If you would see how little an interpretation which rests merely upon the fitting in of historical events can be relied on, examine the very many theories which have been made of the Apocalypse, or of the prophecies of Daniel, to accommodate them to the events of past history. Every person has his own arrangement of past events, which with wonderful dexterity he can fit in to the words and order of the prediction. For if prophecy have nothing in itself good for interpretation, one man's ingenuity may apply one thing to it, and another man's ingenuity may challenge the justice of the application; because, according to the ignorant notion which we are exposing, it is wholly unintelligible in itself, and not to be interpreted

till the event hath declared it. So that these weak, or very sensible, judicious men, as they represent themselves, who think hardly of us because we dispute for a just principle of interpretation, are, by waiting for the event, so far from putting prophecy beyond disputation and controversy, that they do thereby bring it into all disputation and controversy; while they lose that which they regard as the chief end of prophecy, namely, the teaching unto men and nations lessons of the foresight and providence of God.

But, again, it is a monstrous falsehood, thus to speak of God's word in no better, but somewhat a worse, style than you would of an Egyptian hieroglyphic or an heathen oracle. Which are those unintelligible prophecies, I ask; and where are they to be found? Are they those given to Shem, Ham, and Japheth, which have defined the character of Asia, Africa, and Europe until this day, when the children of Ham are servants of servants, when the children of Japheth are dwelling in the tents of Shem? Are they the prophecies made to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; or by Jacob unto the twelve patriarchs; or by Moses unto the twelve tribes; or by Isaiah to the nations; or by Jeremiah; or by any of the former prophets? If these prophecies were not intelligible until after the event, and were only for teaching unto men in general the lessons of God's providence, what were the use, I ask, of giving one to Japheth, and another to Shem; one to Judah, and another to Ephraim? If they were unintelligible, there were no meaning in this distribution. And what were the use of raising up all those prophets

immediately before the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, who overturned the balance of power that then was, and founded the first universal monarchy over the civilized parts of the earth? And why send the prophets on distant embassies, to the very nations and kings and cities, with whose doom they were charged? Is it of our Lord's prophecies that they thus with solemn ignorance speak? Thou fool! his prophecy saved the Christian church from perishing in Jerusalem. Is it of the Apocalypse, whose perusal Christ himself hath with a benediction sanctioned, and its understanding too; for how can we keep or observe that which we understand not? Thou ignorant man! go read in church history the use which was made of this book by the fathers of the first three centuries, to comfort and assure the church under persecutions by the prediction of the Lord's speedy coming in his kingdom; what use was made of it from the time of Hildebrand, yea, and I may say from the time of Jerome himself, to identify Rome with Babylon, and the bishop of Rome with the whore of Babylon. The Apocalypse unintelligible, saidst thou? and its perusal unprofitable! Go read in the writings of the Reformers, and see what broke the bands of Roman power in Scotland, in England, and in other Protestant lands. What were the commonplaces, and what the household words, of God's saints in those times, concerning Rome and the Bishop of Rome? Did they not perceive what the Apocalypse announced concerning the Papacy? Was the Revelation a sealed book to them? was it an ineffectual mystery? O ye Protestant

churches! a doting old man still remembers and speaks coherently concerning the events which happened in his childhood, but ye have forgotten that by which ye were redeemed; ye have forgotten the mighty acts and words of power by which ye were delivered out of Babylon. Surely ye are past the years of dotage, and are approaching unto the termination of your life.

Lastly—for I would not exhaust my reader's patience in these introductory remarks—what an idea of God's providence these men have, who say that he hath constructed his prophecies in such a manner as to be of no use or service to the times concerning which they treat! So, God is indifferent to what the living generation may think and say and do, with respect to the events passing over their heads, or the events to come, if he can only get them to think and speak aright concerning those that are past! Methinks the other were the more fatherly, more kindly, and wiser way of it, to give people in their life-time some insight into his purposes concerning the church and the world, rather than their children after they are dead. It is, methinks, more demonstrative of all knowledge and all power, to have, not an unintelligible hieroglyphic, but an intelligible scheme or chart of future events; and, along with this, an order of men by office set apart, and with gifts endowed, to interpret and make known, in high places, what is the great end which God is accomplishing by his providence in this our day. This I regard as an essential part of a minister's function, notwithstanding good men will tax such a claim with presumption. Justified

in what we have done, and in what we are still to do, towards the awakening of the mind of the church to the study of God's prophetic word, we proceed with our great subject.

The language of the verses which we have read as the subject of discourse, it must be remembered, is, like the rest of the vision, emblematical language, and must be interpreted by taking up the symbols separately.—"I beheld till the thrones were cast down," or placed down. A throne is the symbol of kingly power and dominion, proper for a man to sit on, and rule over the children of men. And it contrasts with the succession of beasts, who had heretofore held forcible possession of the earth; but now thrones are planted down: which at once signifies that the bestial or brutal dominion of tyrannical force is come to an end, and that the reign of humanity now begins. But, though these thrones be set down, we have no mention made as yet of any who sat on them; except, indeed, that one of them was occupied by the Ancient of days; but there can be no doubt from the sequel, where it is said that the saints possessed the kingdom, that it is the saints who sat thereon—as is set forth more particularly in the xx th chapter of the Apocalypse, at the fourth verse: "And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them: and I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the testimony of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their forehead, nor in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand

years." I consider the whole emblem to be taken from a court of judgment, as the same is wont to be holden in all countries; and particularly as it was holden in the Jewish sanhedrim, where a chief judge, with his assessors on either hand of him, sat upon seats or thrones of judgment round about in a semicircular form, and received the prisoner to be tried with the solemn and circumstantial state of a judgment-hall. The same symbol of God and his church, into whose hands he hath committed judgment, is given in the fourth chapter of the Revelations, at the fourth verse; with this difference, that there the scene is in heaven, and the state set forth is the continuance of Christ's absence in the heavens; while in the passage before us the scene is upon the earth, and the time the conclusion of the dominion of the little horn. "And, behold, a throne was set in heaven, and one sat on the throne.....and round about the throne were four-and-twenty seats; and upon the seats I saw four-and-twenty elders sitting, clothed in white raiment; and they had on their heads crowns of gold." I say, the scene here is in heaven, and representeth the present condition of the church in glory; which it hath possessed since the death and resurrection of Christ, the living Head. But the symbol of celestial and invisible government, represented in the fourth and fifth chapters of the Apocalypse out of time and out of place, is brought into time and into place, and into visible action, in the passage before us. The place, is the region of the earth with which the vision is concerned; the time, is the conclusion of the 1260 years of Papal persecution; and the

action, is the judgment upon the little horn, and on the fourth beast, and on the other beasts. And in handling the interpretation of the symbol of judgment, we are not to look for the actual things, any more than we did in handling the four former scenes of the vision; but as in these we found exact correspondences to the four beasts and the little horn and their various emblematical actions, so ought we to find an exact correspondence to the symbolical things and symbolical actions contained in this fifth scene of judgment.

The first symbolical representation to be considered, is that of the chief personage, called the Ancient of days; whose very name signifieth his being the Eternal God; who in the Apocalypse describeth himself, "Which is, which was, and which is to come;" and in the xcth Psalm, "Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever thou hadst formed the earth and the world, even from everlasting to everlasting thou art God." And I think there can be no doubt that it is the Godhead in the person of the Father who is thus represented unto Daniel: for the Godhead in the person of the Son is presented to the Ancient of days in the thirteenth verse, after the judgment is over, and doth receive from Him the kingdom. That it is Christ who is personated by the "Son of man," is above all things manifest from his appropriating to himself so constantly that title during the days of his flesh. There was a propriety, moreover, and I may say a necessity, in order to be consistent with the opening progress of the revelation, that the scene of judgment, as presented unto Daniel, should proceed under the superintendance

and authority of the Father; both because the person of the Son had not yet been revealed as distinct from the person of the Father, and because judgment is given to the Son in consequence of his incarnation and his keeping the law: according as he himself declares, John v. 22: "For the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son.....and hath given him authority to execute all judgment, *because he is the Son of man*." (ver. 27). And Paul doth ground this privilege and prerogative of Christ, to judge the world, upon the fact of his resurrection from the dead: "Because he hath appointed a day in the which he will judge the world in righteousness, by that man whom he hath ordained; whereof he hath given assurance to all men, in that he hath raised him from the dead." (Acts xvi. 31). It would therefore have been to anticipate the natural progress of revelation, to have given under the Jewish dispensation that same distinct aspect of the mystery of judgment which we have received from Christ himself; seeing we do now know, that, though it be the person of the Father who is here represented on the throne of judgment (as it is also in the ivth and vth chapters of the Apocalypse), yet is it the Father seen in the Son, and acting by the Son, out of whom he is never seen and never acteth. But the Son of man, who is brought unto him, is really the Godhead in the person of the Son united unto the nature of man. And the form of the vision doth make them separate, both for the end of preserving the great doctrine of distinct personalities; and for the end of shewing forth the Father's great contentment and great

satisfaction with the Son, who had become man; and his great exaltation of him, in his manhood, unto the head of all power and dominion and glory. If, then, it be asked me, And what is the meaning of these thrones, that are set down beside the Father's throne; and who are they that sit thereon? I answer, deriving my information chiefly from the Apocalypse, That they are the saints who are passed into glory; because they say (Rev. v. 9), "For thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation; and hast made us unto our God kings and priests, and we shall reign on the earth." And if it be asked, why the Son of Man hath not his seat amongst them, and at the head of them; I answer, Because it would not have comported with the other machinery of the vision, which is to represent him as coming in the clouds of heaven, when the earth had been prepared for his reception. And I may observe, that this answereth to the form of the same great idea which is given in the cxth Psalm: "The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool." So that the scenery of the representation seems to present us with the act of the Father upon the earth, preparing it for the lordship of his Son; whom, for the present, we are still to imagine as seated at the right hand of the Father in the invisible heavens. For the Godhead, by being described as acting in any particular place, in any way, is not thereby removed from all other places, or from that invisible and immaterial which is not under conditions of place or time: but such language, and such a manner of con-

ceiving, is not proper to the being of the Son of Man; who, as man, having a body of very manhood, doth exist in place, according to the laws of place, and therefore is properly spoken of as removing from place to place. But while the Father doth thus execute the judgment upon the quick, and particularly upon the four beasts (which is all that Daniel saw), he doth it in the person of the Son, and with an eye to the glory of the Son of Man: and I think the great purpose of thus representing the process of the judgment is, to signify unto us that the Son of Man should not come unto his dominions, should not come with the clouds of heaven, should not come to possess "the kingdom and dominion and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven," until the fourth empire should have come to its end; until the little horn should have arisen, and completed its times; until the judgment upon the four beasts for the oppression of God's covenanted people should have been finished; and until the oppression of his people should have been ended, and all the enemies of Christ made his footstool. And to this I think our Lord makes allusion—yea, reference almost in a tangible way—when, being asked by his disciples (Acts i. 6) "if he would then restore the kingdom to Israel," he answered, It was not for them "to know the times, which the Father had put in his own power"—(which times, accordingly, the Father by an act of his power bringeth to a termination). This having spoken, the clouds took him up; and immediately the angels said, that in that way (that is, with clouds) he should come again. Indeed, I cannot help remarking upon this passage of the Acts, that it doth, as it were, con-

sign unto us, with the last breath of the Lord, this very prophecy of Daniel, which we have therefore taken the more courage to open up.

Having thus ascertained the personality of the Ancient of days, as distinguished from the Son of Man, together with the great ends of that distinction, we now proceed to the description of his person, which is also symbolical. "Whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool." These are the emblems of purity in all languages, and in the holy Scriptures are constantly used as such: as in Isaiah i. 18; "Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be white as snow; and though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool." By the same emblems is the person of Christ presented in the Revelations, Rev. i. 14; and in garments of pure white, of linen white and clean, was the high priest arrayed when he went into the Holy of Holies, which is the symbol of the presence of God. And, according to the idea set forth above from the holy Gospel, that it is in the person of Christ that the judgment taketh place, I observe, that these emblems of purity do signify the perfect holiness with which he was able to present the fallen substance of human nature in the presence of the Father: for, in the passage quoted above (Acts xvii. 31), Paul avoucheth his title to judge from his resurrection; and his resurrection is stated, Rom. i. 4, to have been "according to the Spirit of holiness:" so that we may say his perfect holiness doth qualify him for being the judge of the quick and of the dead. For who else should be worthy to judge, but he that honoureth the law in his own observance? He who holdeth it to be

so sacred as not to be violated for any self-indulgence, is worthy, and he alone is worthy, to be entrusted with the safe keeping and defending of it against the violations of others. And, indeed, there is, to my apprehension, a necessary connexion between the honour which Christ brought unto the law in his keeping of it, and the honour which is bestowed upon him to judge and rule the world according to its holy precepts. The law, also, hath become impersonified in Christ, and offences against the law are, as it were, done against him. His Gospel preacheth him Lord, as well as Christ; Prince of the kings of the earth, as well as the Head of his church: and this judgment cometh upon nations which, knowing the light of the Gospel, and the terrors of the judgment, and the blessedness of the kingdom, have sinned against light and knowledge, and in defiance of Christ's sovereign power. And on these accounts also is He, who was the spotless man, now advanced to be a righteous Judge. Nevertheless, as hath been said, for the unity and consistency of the vision it is presented to us as an act of the Father; but, as in other cases, the raiment, or the visible manifestation, appertaineth unto Christ, in whom, and in whom only, the Father is seen.

Next comes the description of his throne. "His throne was as the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire." Fire and flame are the emblems of consuming and devouring wrath: "Our God is a consuming fire." This element consumeth most entirely the fabric and constitution of all things; and therefore, to signify that this judgment is wholly to cleanse and purify and change the

structure of that upon which it is holden, it is called the judgment of fire: as it is written by the Apostle, 1 Cor. iii. 13; "For the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire, and the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is." I do not, however, think that it is the revelation of Christ in flaming fire which is here spoken of, because the language is symbolical, and not literal; but it is a judgment like the trial of fire, which no wood, hay, or stubble shall endure, but only gold, silver, and precious stones. This I reckon to be the meaning also of the symbol "a fiery stream issued and came forth from before him;" to signify the going forth of the messengers and executioners of justice from the awful throne of the pure and spotless Judge; who is called "the Ancient of days," to signify, that, amongst all changes, he is immutable; that, amongst all successions of kingdoms and of powers, he knoweth no change: according as it is written, Psalm cii. 25—27; "Of old hast thou laid the foundations of the earth, and the heavens are the work of thy hands: they shall perish, but thou shalt endure: yea, all of them shall wax old, like a garment; and as a vesture shalt thou change them, and they shall be changed: but thou art the same, and thy years shall have no end;"—a passage of holy writ which is applied unto Christ by the Apostle in the first chapter of the Hebrews, as indeed is the substance of the title Ancient of days in many other parts of Scripture: Heb. xiii. "Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever:" Rev. i. 8, "Which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty." How different this aspect of the throne

of the Ancient of days, with its burning wheel and fiery flame and stream of liquid fire, to that throne of peace, patience, and quietness, in which he hath been seated in the heavens, beholding with indignation, yet bearing with long-suffering, the indignities to which the name and the Gospel of his Son have been exposed on earth! "There was a rainbow round about the throne, in sight like unto an emerald;" and "before the throne there was a sea of glass, like unto crystal;" but, now (even Divine patience being exhausted) he translates that throne to the earth, and, lo! it is all on fire, and a stream of fire floweth forth from before it;—fit emblem of vengeance, fit prelude of the work which is about to be performed; being no less a work than to destroy the enemies of Christ, and bring in his Son in majesty and glory to possess the kingdom for ever and for ever.

After this sublime description of the Judge, cometh next the description of his attendants. "Thousand thousands ministered to him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him." These are, it seemeth to me, the same with the "many angels" whom John saw around the heavenly throne (chap. v. 11) "the number of them was ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands," who are in constant attendance upon the majesty of the throne of God, the messengers of his counsels, the executioners of his purpose; who were around him on the top of Sinai, and shall yet attend him upon Mount Zion: as it is written, Psalm lxviii. 16, 17; "This is the hill which God desireth to dwell in; yea, the Lord will dwell in it for ever. The chariots of God are

twenty thousand, even thousands of angels: the Lord is among them, as in Sinai, in the holy place." For thus is the throne of God described in the book of Psalms (ciii. 19—21): "The Lord hath prepared his throne in the heavens, and his kingdom ruleth over all. Bless the Lord, ye his angels, that excel in strength, that do his commandments, hearkening unto the voice of his word. Bless ye the Lord, all ye his hosts, ye ministers of his, that do his pleasure." Which are not figurative expressions to represent the state of the Divine tribunal, but very truths, to signify the place and office which spiritual beings have in the creation of God: "Who maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flaming fire: for are they not all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister to them which shall be heirs of salvation:" and if the guardians of the church, then the destroyers of her enemies; if the ministers of God's mercy unto the elect, then also the ministers of his wrath upon the reprobate. And, seeing that in this vision of Daniel, whose sphere of action is all upon the earth, the throne of the Eternal is introduced with all the sublime and fearful majesty, with all the attendant hosts of heaven, which in any other part of Scripture it is represented withal; we may not doubt that the end and purpose for which it is introduced is no secondary act of power and judgment, but one the most stupendous and the most extensive which the earth can ever behold. There shall be no other such upon the face of the earth. For that "white throne," mentioned in the Apocalypse, resteth not on the earth, but is the tribunal of all creation, and the assize holden upon all the creatures

of God which he hath made, and the eternal separation of good from evil, and something more stupendous than human imagination can attain unto; but as to this judgment in the text, it is an event in the history of the earth, in which the earth alone is directly concerned: the event it is of preparing it for the eternal inheritance and dominion of the Son of Man; which may, and no doubt is, in some marvellous way affected by the judgment of the great white throne, but not thereby destroyed, for how then were it eternal? advanced, it may be, into greater holiness and unremoved stedfastness, without any more variableness or shadow of turning; delivered, it may be, from the law of production, decay, and reproduction; purified, it may be, from the stain of sin; and made immortal, being delivered from the presence of death and the dust of all the wicked: but surely not annihilated, not sublimed, not calcined. Oh no! the work of God knoweth no such reversation: it doth, as it proceedeth, cast off the husk and slough of its former incompleteness, yet the law of its continuity is not broken, the progression of its beauty is not stopped, the increase of its honour is not withstood, until it hath attained unto the proper end of its being,—to become a fit glass for reflecting the beauty and the glory of God, while its history is the shewing forth of the various wisdom of his purpose. For thus it is in all things created and preserved. The seed casteth its corruption and shooteth up into a spreading tree; which decayeth not until it hath produced around itself a forest of spreading trees. The lowest worm is first an egg; and then, casting

off its shell, it turneth into a crawling thing, vile to look upon; but anon it parteth with its slimy covering, and wingeth the air, the most beautiful creature of God. And none of these changes is without much apparent loss of substance and pain of sentient matter accomplished—as witness the conception and the birth and the death of man—but, at every stage, what new powers and faculties and enjoyments of being are entered upon; how much larger our room, how much wider the sphere of our speculation, how much higher the dignity of our being! And, when looked upon in the light of revelation, the mystery of all this changing being, which ever suffereth as it changeth, is set forth, is found to be, a judgment of God upon transgression; all flowing from the fountain of our original sin, yet all bespeaking, by the very progression towards a better and not towards a worse, a redemption, a restoration, a stedfast blessedness. Even such a change in the state and condition of this world's life do I regard the judgment before us to be; wherein that life of the Holy Spirit, once concentrated in the Christ, and after his agony and crucifixion scattered more widely in the church, and now again come into the sickliness and weakness and pangs of parturition, is with violent breaking forth, and rendings as it were of creation to its centre, to deliver itself into that true freedom and glorious life of the kingdom of Christ; who, first parent and first child alike, with all his children begotten in the womb of the same humiliation and oppression, shall come together, to enjoy that cleared, cleansed world, that delivered flesh of living men, that blessed society

of loving men, that reign of the royal law of liberty, that estate of golden felicity, which from the beginning God decreed for his Son, and for all whom before the world he had chosen in his Son. Such is our idea of the judgment: and now we come to the particulars of it.

"The judgment was set and the books were opened.....I beheld then, because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake; I beheld, even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed and given to the burning flame." With respect to these "books," which are said to have been opened, we find the same expression used in the judgment of the great white throne—that is, the judgment of the dead—(Rev. xx. 12): "And I saw the dead small and great stand before God; and the books were opened: and another book was opened, which is the book of life: and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works." By this passage, these books of judgment are distinctly separated from the book of life, concerning which so much mention is made in all the Scriptures: they must, then, be the books of doom, or the records of the works of every creature; and especially, in this place, the records of the transactions of the four kingdoms, which are now about to be taken under trial: the books, as we would say, of the Lord's remembrance, which is kept before him as a record of the sufferings of his people at the hands of their oppressors. Still we must remember that it is but a symbol, like the rest, intended to convey unto us that every evil thought and idle word and wicked act

shall be of God called into judgment; and that his providence proceedeth not at random, but is moved according to the most equitable retribution. Akin to this remembrance of evil, which God is said to keep in a book against the day of the judgment of the wicked, is the remembrance of good, which he likewise preserveth in a book: (Mal. iii. 16), "Then they that feared the Lord spake often one to another; and the Lord hearkened, and heard it: and a book of remembrance was written before him for them that feared the Lord, and that thought upon his name." Answerable to which is that deliverance spoken of in Daniel: (xii. 1), "At that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book." And, indeed, the frequent mention in Scripture of the book of life, in which the names of certain ones are written, doth imply that it is an act of God's free grace to preserve any; seeing it is written, concerning those who worshipped and obeyed this fourth beast, that it came so to pass because their names were not written in the book of life: (Rev. xiii. 8), "And all that dwell upon the earth shall worship him, whose names are not written in the book of life of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world." This gives us a still higher apprehension of the symbol before us, as not the book of God's remembrance merely, but the book of his purpose concerning every creature, which is written before the foundation of the world. And this doth give us a very high idea of the predestinating purpose of God, and the particular providence which is over every

man; and the folly and madness in men to think that they can resist or fight against God. It sheweth what a self-destroying falsehood it is that would draw the will away from the obedience of God's will; and what a wisdom there is in gently acquiescing in the will of God, as the only thing which will establish itself in the end. This is the great use to be made of God's predestinated purpose, that, seeing each man's destiny absolutely dependeth thereon, each man should cleave close unto him upon whom he dependeth, and catch eagerly at every word of his mouth which openeth the great mystery of his will and purpose. If God had not a predestinated purpose, according to which he governs all things, then indeed revelation were a bootless, profitless labour, both in the giving and in the receiving of it; but if there be a hidden purpose which ruleth over all, then indeed is the revelation, or opening of that purpose, the greatest grace of God, and the all in all unto every one of his creatures. And to this end it is, and not to blind fatalism, that the doctrine of God's foreknowledge and predestination, given as symbolized by the books, is so constant a doctrine of Holy Scripture.

And now cometh the judgment of the greatest culprit upon the earth—that is, the little horn, or the Papacy; or rather of the beast which gave ear unto the voice of the great words which he spake. It is very remarkable, that the crime of this beast is made to consist in his obedience of the little horn. Not but that his own acts, as a beast, were ferocious and bloody enough, but these are

forgotten, as it were, and passed over in silence, for the mention of another crime, which so far transcended all the rest. Indeed, this mode of speaking would lead us to infer that the judgment upon the ten-horned beast hath reference chiefly, or entirely, to the acts which it did during the period and under the instigation of the little horn; as if for its other offences, while in a state of Paganism, it had received the judgment under those four Apocalyptic riders who are represented in the four seals,—being Constantine, who put it down from its Imperial dignity; Theodosius, who hewed down its sprouting pruriency with the great sword of God; Honorius, whose weakness brought Alâric the Goth to burn it with fire; and Justinian, who overwhelmed its abode in a sea of blood. And I am the more confirmed in this conclusion by finding the sixth and seventh seals applicable to the Papal empire only; for, truly, the Pagan hath long ceased to exist. To the question, wherein consisteth the great enormity of the crime of listening to the little horn, that this beast should therefore be judged much beyond the severity of other judgments—(for not only is he slain, but his body is "destroyed and given to the burning flame;" whereas of the other beasts it is merely said, that "they had their dominion taken away, yet their lives were prolonged for a season and time")—to this question we have given an ample answer in our former discourse, and do not intend to add any thing more in this place, but simply by the word of God to represent the judgment which is ready to come upon it.

In this chapter of Daniel it is expressed thus: "I beheld till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed and given to the burning flame;" and (ver. 26), "The judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and to destroy it unto the end." Both these descriptions convey to my mind, not an instantaneous, but a progressive work of destruction. The first represents the end of the fourth beast by these particulars,—the beast was slain; his body was destroyed; and it was given to the burning flame. Whether these be two acts or three, and I give no judgment at present, the language speaketh a progression or succession in the work of destruction. And this notion is put beyond a doubt by the second description; where, upon the sitting of the judgment, the first thing they do is to take away his dominion—that is, the dominion of the little horn—and then consume and destroy unto the end; —a continuance of consumption until the destruction is completed, similar to that description of his end in 2 Thess. ii. 8; "whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming." This much, therefore, is to be gathered from Daniel, that immediately upon the conclusion and termination of the time, times, and the dividing of time, the judgment doth sit. There is no interval between the end of this period and the beginning of judgment; for it is said (ver. 21), "I beheld, and the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them, *until* the Ancient of days came, and judgment was given to the saints of the Most High." Now in the 25th verse it is said

that he prevails against the saints "for a time, times, and the dividing of time." The season of his prevalence, therefore, which is the "time, times, and the dividing of time," endures until the Ancient of days cometh, and judgment is given unto the saints of the Most High. At the end of the 1260 years, therefore, we must look for the beginning of judgment upon the Papal kingdoms; and when judgment comes, it will not be accomplished in one act, but, as it would seem from Daniel, in one or two, or at most three, acts: but judgment shall not cease until the beast be utterly consumed, until its "body be destroyed, and given to the burning flame;" until it be "consumed and destroyed unto the end."

Thus much learn we from the prophet Daniel; and if we desire more particulars concerning this judgment, we must seek for them in the Apocalypse: which I the rather incline to do, both for your fuller information upon this most important point, and for my own surer and safer discourse thereof. Let us therefore betake ourselves to the Apocalypse, and see what is written concerning the events which befal this beast, when its period of "time, times, and half a time" is accomplished. In our first discourse upon the fourth kingdom, when gathering our materials, we said, that this same beast was set forth under three forms, or rather with the same form in three different states, in the xiith, xiiith, and xviith chapters. The identity of the form is preserved by the seven heads and ten horns, and by his inveterate and determined hostility to the church. His threefold diversity of state is represented

several ways: First, by the crowns upon his seven heads; then by the crowns upon his ten horns; then by the crowns neither upon the heads nor upon the horns. Secondly, The threefold diversity of state is represented by his being already in possession of the earth when the travailing woman appears; then by his coming up out of the sea (xiii. 1); then by his arising out of the bottomless pit (xvii. 8). Again, this threefold diversity of state is set forth by the dragon red-coloured; then by the beast without any particular colour; then by the beast scarlet-coloured. Finally, the same threefold diversity of state in the fourth beast is represented by his having, first, a tail which draws down the third part of the stars of heaven; then by his having the names of blasphemy upon his heads; and then by his being full of names of blasphemy. There can be no doubt, therefore, in the mind of any exact reader of prophecy, that the xiith, xiiith, and xviith chapters of the Apocalypse do present us with the fourth kingdom in three states, very distinct, most characteristically distinct, from one another. Now, the second of these states is to endure for forty-and-two months: xiii. 5, "There was given unto him a mouth speaking great things, and blasphemies; and power was given unto him to continue forty-and-two months." That is exactly the period before judgment begins to be done; exactly the period during which the little horn domineers. If so, then (as there cannot be two states of the beast at one time, and this second state endureth for forty-and-two months, aye, and until the judgment) it must follow necessarily, and

without a question, that the exhibition of the beast in a third state is its exhibition under judgment. Let us, then, consider this xviith chapter, which presenteth us with the fourth beast under the act of judgment at the conclusion of the 1260 years.

Now it is remarkable, that this conclusion, to which we have come with respect to chap. xvii. is confirmed by the very words with which it opens, and which express the title or the contents of it: ver. 1, "And there came one of the seven angels which had the seven vials and talked with me, saying, I will shew unto thee *the judgment* of the great whore that sitteth upon many waters, with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and the nations of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication." The communication, therefore, made in this chapter, is the judgment of that woman; whose identity is given in the 18th verse thus: "The woman which thou sawest is that great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth." And of what city could this be said, in the time of the giving of this vision, but of Rome, which had no rival in the world in the days of the twelve Cæsars? of what city can it be said still, but of Rome, whose spiritual dominion extendeth over the kingdoms and the kings of the prophetic earth? This is the peculiarity of the Roman empire, that it hath ever stood in a city—not in a country, like Italy; not in a nation, like the Greeks; not in a dynasty, like the Persians; but in a city—the city of old Rome: Rome imperial, with crowned heads; Rome papal, with names of blasphemy upon the heads. It is

this chapter, therefore, which containeth the judgment upon Rome papal; for it proceedeth not until the forty-and-two months have been accomplished. And wherefore is she judged? Because "she hath committed fornication with the kings of the earth;" that is, spiritual fornication; because, being a church, and betrothed as a chaste spouse unto Christ against the day of his coming to the marriage supper of his espousals, she hath given herself unto the kings of the earth, and flattered and betrayed them, and so brought destruction both upon their head and upon her own. She is judged for having brought the evil influence of her wiles and sorceries to bear upon the kings and inhabitants of the earth. Now this is exactly the reason for which the fourth beast is doomed to judgment, because he listened to the great words which the horn spake. The horn (which we have shewn to be an ecclesiastical power, from the eyes and mouth of it) is guilty, for exercising a temporal authority, a dominion, a supremacy over the ten kings, to whom he should have been in subjection. So the woman, the great whore that sitteth upon many waters, is judged for having beguiled and betrayed the kings of the earth (which are the same ten horns) into spiritual fornication—that is, a false religion, which leadeth the heart and the mind away from Christ, unto another than Christ. Seeing, then, there can remain no doubt that this is the judgment of the Papacy which is contained in the xviith chapter, let us the more diligently peruse it.

Verses 3—6: "So he carried me away in the spirit into the wilderness: and I saw a woman

sit upon a scarlet-coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy; having seven heads and ten horns. And the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet colour, and decked with gold and precious stones and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand full of abominations and filthiness of her fornication: and upon her forehead was a name written, Mystery, Babylon the Great, the Mother of Harlots and Abominations of the Earth. And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus: and when I saw her, I wondered with great admiration." This vision saw he in the wilderness, whither the woman had fled from the face of the dragon, or Pagan Rome. And thither went the dragon after her; and there together they remained for forty-and-two months: during which time, though she have her meat from God, and a sufficient defence from the serpent's face, yet doth she become enamoured of that serpent, and she loveth him, and striketh alliance with him, and is seen at the end of the forty-and-two months right lovingly sitting upon him. This falling away of the woman, heretofore clothed with the sun and having the moon under her feet and bearing a diadem of twelve stars, unto the serpent who had devoured her children and persecuted her into the wilderness, was set forth in the symbol by the Jewish church, which, after being delivered from Pharaoh, the great dragon in the waters (Ezek. xxix. 2), upon eagles' wings (Exod. xix. 4), did fall away unto Egyptian and all manner of idolatries, during their forty years' continuance in the wilderness (Acts vii. 42, 43).

And what was thus set forth in the emblem, was accomplished in the reality by the Church appropriating to herself, during these 1260 days, all the forms of that Pagan worship which at first she abhorred and which abhorred her. No marvel, therefore, that John should wonder with great admiration to see this woman, now arrayed, not with the sun, but with purple and scarlet colour, the colour of the raiment of the emperors and senators of Rome; and decked out with gold and precious stones and pearls, instead of being crowned with a diadem of twelve stars; and having in her hand a golden cup, the symbol of ancient Babylon (Jer. li. 7): "Babylon hath been a golden cup in the Lord's hand, that made all the earth drunken: the nations have drunken of her wine; therefore the nations are mad." And this her identity with ancient Babylon is set out by her name, which, like lewd women of old, was emblazoned upon her forehead: "Mystery!"—a name which doth identify her with the "mystery of iniquity" spoken of in the Gospels and in the Epistles; making the light darkness, hiding the light under a bushel, and otherwise mystifying the truth of God with sevenfold delusions. "Babylon the great!"—prison of truth; destroyer of the holy city of God; raser of the temple; blasphemer of God and of his tabernacle, and of them that worship therein. "The Mother of the Harlots and Abominations of the earth!"—having, as hath been shewn by many, fathered all the idolatries and superstitions that ever were heard of, and with hellish craft palmed them upon the world as the truth of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ. And what had the bloated

harlot been feeding upon; what had she and her dragon spouse been regaling themselves withal? She was "drunken with the blood of the saints and of the martyrs of Jesus." Well mightest thou wonder, O seer of the visions of God, with great admiration, to behold in so short a time such a wonderful revolution in the character of that beautiful and fruitful and faithful woman, which thou sawest in the beginning clothed with the sun, having the moon under her feet, and upon her head a diadem of twelve stars. And now cometh the angel's interpretation of this wonderful sight, which we shall run over with the same haste, remembering that it is the judgment both of the woman and of the beast to which we are attentive.

Ver. 7: "And the angel said unto me, Wherefore didst thou marvel? I will tell thee the mystery of the woman, and of the beast that carrieth her, which hath the seven heads and ten horns. The beast that thou sawest was, and is not, and shall ascend out of the bottomless pit, and go into perdition: and they that dwell on the earth shall wonder, whose names were not written in the book of life from the foundation of the world, when they behold the beast that was, and is not, and yet is."—This is like a riddle, or an enigma; which to loose, we must first see in what the knot lieth. In the 11th verse it is said, "The beast that was, and is not, even he is the eighth, and is of the seven, and goeth into perdition." This verse shews us that the enigma "was, and is not, and goeth into perdition," is not spoken of the beast in its generic character of beast, but in its specific form of "eighth head which is also of the seven:"

and, therefore, those interpretations which resolve this enigma into Paganism—which was before Christianity, and then was not, being destroyed by Christianity, and then re-appeared in the Papacy—are not to be received; because it is not the beast in its continuance of being, but the beast under its eighth head, which is contained in the enigma "was, and is not, and goeth into perdition." Now it is of the utmost importance to ascertain who and what this beast is; for he it is who bringeth the judgment upon the whore.

The ten horns, or kings, her paramours, do at length hate her; and, in order to destroy her, they give their power unto this beast; by whom, thus holpen, she is destroyed. And this done, the same beast doth lead the ten kings against the Lamb, and by the Lamb he and all his followers are overcome: and thus the incorporate kingdoms of the beast are destroyed, yet not till they had first destroyed the hateful whore. This being the order and the substance of the judgment—that the Papacy should be destroyed by the ten kings, under the leading of this enigmatical beast, and then, under the same leading, should meet with their own destruction from the Lamb and his armies—we are called upon with the most intense carefulness to examine who this beast is, at whose instigation and by whose energy the Papacy is destroyed, and the Lamb himself daringly withstood. Now then, seeing he is the eighth head, which is of the seven, we must inquire, first, what is meant by these seven heads, which the beast ever assumeth in this prophet, but hath not in the Prophet Daniel. The answer is given us in

the 9th and 10th verses: "The seven heads are seven mountains, on which the woman sitteth: and there (*gr.* they) are seven kings; five are fallen, and one is, the other is not yet come; and when he cometh, he will continue a short space." The heads have here two interpretations. First, as the seven hills which support the city; a description of Rome which no man can mistake: "the seven-hilled city" is as classical as Rome itself. But it hath another, and yet not another, but as it were a twin meaning, to express the seven constitutions, or bases or mountains of power, upon which the political power of the city rested; the seven kings, or seven forms of sovereign power, which bore the political weight of Rome, as the seven mountains did bear its most massive, gorgeous, and beautiful masonry. Now, concerning these seven kings, we are not at a great loss for principles of interpretation, because five are said to have fallen in the Apostle's time. What the five headships in Rome which had fallen in the time of John were, is not matter of doubt or of uncertainty, being determined by two of the greatest Latin historians, Livy and Tacitus, to be (1) Kings, (2) Consuls, (3) Dictators, (4) Decemvirs, (5) Military Tribunes. As easy it is to determine the sixth, which then was in being,—the Imperial, the head of Emperors. The question only remaineth to determine the seventh, of which it is said, "The other is not yet come, and when he cometh he must continue a short space." Now, to determine this we have ample data in the text. We are agreed that the sixth head is the head of Emperors, which began in Julius

Cæsar; and the question is, when did that head of Emperors come to an end? Some say it came to an end in Augustulus, when the name and state of Emperor in Rome ceased, about the year 480. But, to guard us against this conclusion, that the head of Emperors then ceased, it is written (ch. xiii. 3), "And I saw one of its heads as it were wounded to death, and his deadly wound was healed." This, no doubt, is the head of Emperors; for the other five were fallen, and the seventh was not yet come: and this head was wounded to death, but yet recovered of its wound, survived it, and did not fall under it. Now, we are generally agreed that the Imperial head was wounded in Augustulus. Well, but it did not fall then; otherwise it would not have been healed. If it did not fall, it must continue; and if it be healed, it must live on: for what, otherwise, were the meaning of the language, that it was wounded to death, but its deadly wound was healed? which I consider to be introduced in that place for the very purpose of guarding against the opinion of so many, who have erroneously, and in the direct face of this revelation, concluded that this head did then cease and determine. But, seeing that it was only wounded, and lay as it were in a swoon for a time, the question is, when did it arise again and hold the government? The Imperial power, after lying in the throes of death for more than 300 years, revived again in the Emperor Charlemagne, who was crowned Emperor in Rome in the year 800, with the same pomp and circumstances, and with hardly less power, than the emperors had formerly possessed;

and in and from him the Imperial head has been regularly conducted downwards, with the name of Cæsar and Emperor, unto our own times.

During all the forty-two months of the beast this sixth head of Emperors hath been in being, in its wounded and revived state: and this is the reason why, at the head of the vision of the forty-and-two months' state of the beast, this note is given, that the head is wounded and revived, to signify that the wounded and revived head was that under which the things of the forty-and-two months' duration did come to pass. Now, it is no objection to this to say, that during this period the Emperor had not dominion over the ten kingdoms, because that is provided for in the vision, by its being revealed that the horns had crowns upon them; and if the horns had crowns upon them, then the Emperor, after his revival, ought not to be found crowned over these ten kingdoms. The question is, Had he power in Rome? and the answer is, He had; the Pope did fealty to him for Rome: and this is so well understood to be the constitution of the empire, that the Emperor's eldest brother hath the title King of the Romans. Clearly, therefore, Charlemagne was the revived head of the Emperors; and in him, and in his successors, the line hath continued unbroken until our own day, when it hath entirely failed. How perfectly this is understood and acknowledged by historians is manifest, by their always including, in the history of the Emperors, every one, from Julius Cæsar, down to the time at which they write. Nor is it any objection to this, that the Pope did afterwards, in the course

of two or three centuries, assume and usurp for himself an independent jurisdiction in Rome and the states of the church. That he should do so is likewise provided for, in the vision of the xiiith chapter; where it is said, verse 12, that he "exerciseth all the power of the first beast before him (before his face), and causeth the earth, and them that dwell therein, to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed." This, I may observe in passing, demonstrates beyond a doubt that the beast acting under his healed sixth head was the object of the people's homage during the forty-and-two months, and not the beast under any other head. Then it is further to be observed, that the Papal "two-horned beast like a lamb," doth make an image of the beast, and cause it to be worshipped. That the Popes, therefore, should make unto themselves a counterpart of Imperial authority in Rome, is provided for in the vision, as well as that the ten horns should be separately crowned during these forty-and-two months; and yet there was to be an Emperor revived during the same period: and all this complex state of things, not to be made more simple, nor yet to be made more complex, was the exact state in which the Roman empire was found during these forty-and-two months.

It remaineth, therefore, from the premises, that the sixth head, which began in Julius Cæsar and was in being when John wrote, was wounded in Augustulus, revived in Charlemagne, and continued downwards in the Emperors of Germany, or Cæsars. And when did this head cease? It ceased in the present Emperor of Germany, by a

voluntary resignation of his name and title, and, with it, of his claim and pretensions to the authority of Emperor. And when this authority waned out, what authority waxed in? No other than Napoleon's, who about the same time added Rome to the dominions of France; making it the second city of the empire, and sending thither one of his diplomatic body to be governor, or prefect. The renunciation of the Emperor took place in the year 1806, after it had subsisted in its revived forms for one thousand years; and from this time the empire subsisted in Napoleon, who had been crowned Emperor the year preceding; and soon after he added Rome to his dominions, so that the Pope now held of him, as much as ever he held of Charlemagne a thousand years before. I believe, therefore, that in Napoleon the seventh head appeared.

Now the eighth is not an integrant head (for if it were, the beast would have been described with eight heads), but is of the seven—as it were, a growth out of the last—which is in being, and then is not in being, and yet is to arise again and go into perdition. Our enigma, therefore, is near to be resolved. It lies in the seventh and the eighth being virtually but one, and yet apparently two. The seventh head comes: it hath come, we have seen it. It is in the state described "it was:" now it is not, for Napoleon is gone to his account; and yet, somehow or other, "it was, and is not, and yet is," and, as the eighth head, it is to ascend out of the bottomless pit and go into perdition. Now that the enigma is almost cleared up, it will wholly

clear itself up, if we will inquire into the facts. Napoleon, when he took Rome into his empire, and exercised power therein by his prefect, did yet not take to himself the title of King or Emperor of Rome; but when his son was born, so soon as he recovered from the death-like state in which he came into the world, he threw open the doors of the great saloon, in which the heads of the empire were anxiously awaiting the event, and cried out, "A king of Rome;" and King of Rome he continued to be called; nor do I know that the title was ever revoked, though it hath ceased to be used. Here, then, arose the mystery and enigma of the eighth head,—that the seventh, taking to himself the power, but not the name (which he gave to his son), did cause, that, to complete the seventh, an eighth should also be in being; and yet not in itself an eighth, but sharing with the seventh. Now, if this account of the matter be correct, and we see not on what grounds it can be at all objected to, we have a very simple resolution of the enigma "it was, it is not, and yet is." The enigma arises from its standing in two persons, and being only complete in them both: of whom the one person dies, and then is not; the other person lives, and is, but yet is not in himself the complete head, but waiteth for the power, having at present only the name.

Having thus satisfied this part of the enigma, and ascertained who the beast in his personal character and action is, we now come back, to consider it, not as a person ruling over the ten kings, and leading them to the destruction of the whore and to make war with the Lamb, but

as the incorporate body of the fourth beast, described as scarlet-coloured, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns. It is said to ascend out of the bottomless pit; out of which heretofore the Mohammedan imposture (Rev. ix. 2) came, and into which Satan, with all his deceptions, is hereafter cast (Rev. xx. 3), "that he should deceive the nations no more." For the further understanding of this, we find (Rev. xi. 7) that the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit maketh war with the witnesses, overcometh them, and killeth them, so soon as their testimony is finished—that is, at the end of the 1260 days. Now we know what it was which, at the end of the 1260 days, made war upon the witnesses who had testified against the Papacy. Whatever view be taken of these witnesses, it is certain that they are holy persons, or holy things; and when the Papal period came to its close, in the year 1792, what was it that made war against all holy persons and holy things? It was Infidelity. And this seems to be the meaning of that characteristic feature of the beast's third form, which is expressed by the words, "full of names of blasphemy." In the second form, upon his *heads* were the names of blasphemy—that is, in Rome—but now his whole body is full of those names; the same arrogant, blasphemous assumption of independency on church and state, being assumed by the people every where, which heretofore had been assumed by Rome only. If, then, Infidelity be the spirit of the third form of the beast; and the beast is said to arise out of the bottomless pit at the end of the 1260 years; his

being seen in the wilderness, with the woman upon him, must be posterior to his coming out of the bottomless pit: which circumstance is not mentioned in the xviith chapter, having been already mentioned in the xith. And, indeed, his new and changed form, from that represented in the xiith and in the xiiith chapters, doth necessarily lead to the same conclusion; for, unless from a new origin, how should he get a new form? The new spirit giveth the new form; that new spirit is Infidelity. The old spirit was the Papacy, which during the forty-and-two months, as the little horn, did actuate the beast; but now the Papacy is cast outward, and presented in the form of the whore riding upon the beast, while the new spirit that actuates the beast is Infidelity. Mohammedanism, as hath been said, hath the same origin given unto it, because they are alike infidel; for though Mohammedans do give to Christ a place as a prophet, they deny him his place as God: they bring up a new book, and a new religion; and they pronounce us, who will not receive it, infidels. Such is Infidelity, as it hath appeared in these latter days; too learned to deny Christ's humanity, and frequently too sound-minded to deny his morality; but agreed with one accord to deny his Divinity, and every thing supernatural in his religion. Indeed, I remember to have read of a grave proposal made by the Socinians in the last century to the Mohammedan ambassador in this country, concerning the practicability of a mutual union or understanding between these two great apostasies, believing in one God, and denying the Godhead of Christ. However this may

be, it is certain that the infidel spirit, which actuates the beast to destroy the Papacy, hath, in respect to place, the same origin with the delusions of Mohammed,—even that bottomless pit, to which, in the end, Satan, with all his deceptions, is driven. As respecteth, therefore, Infidelity, the animating spirit of the beast in his last form, this is the mystery of the enigma: It was, under Napoleon, (yea before him, under the French Revolution, but in him), triumphant as an organized empire: it is not, since his fall: and it shall ascend out of the bottomless pit, for the purpose of doing the work of God's vengeance upon the Papacy; and thereafter it shall go into perdition, by attempting war against the Lamb and those that are with him.

Now then observe, that, so powerful shall be the delusion which he bringeth with him from the bottomless pit, that they that dwell on the earth—that is, within the charmed region over which the woman reigns—shall wonder, and be led astray after him, excepting only those whose names were written in the book of life from the foundation of the world. Most remarkable expression! indicating to us that Infidelity shall become as much the rage as ever the superstition of the Papacy was; concerning which the same language is used, xiii. 8: "All that dwell upon the earth shall worship him, whose names are not written in the book of life of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world." Well, and when this beast is again ascended out of the bottomless pit; and when this eighth head, which is also of the seven, shall have come to his headship; what shall he, the prince of the Infidel Roman empire, do? He shall execute the

judgment upon the little horn; or upon the whore, which is the symbol of the same Papal power. But that judgment was to begin, according to Daniel, exactly upon the termination of the 1260 days—that is, in the year 1792. And so it actually came to pass; for in that year Infidelity arose, and made such havoc of the Papacy as never since the world began was heard of. It was so enraged at it, that in its indiscriminate hatred it cut up religion itself by the roots, and attempted to hew down the everlasting vine of God, which he hath planted upon the earth. Then it proceeded into Italy, and plundered the shrines of the idolaters; and scattered Pope and Cardinals, as the whirlwind scattereth the thistle-down: and Naples was revolutionized by Infidelity; and Austria was trodden and trampled upon; and Spain and Portugal were deluged in blood; and in a few years the whole Papal system was reversed. This I take to be the first act of judgment, which is the slaying of the beast, or the taking away of the dominion of the little horn. But there is another act to come, and the chief one, which is expressed in one place of Daniel, by "destroying his body, and giving it to the burning flame;" and in the other place, by "consuming and destroying unto the end." This second act is thus described in the xvii th of the Apocalypse, ver. 16: "And the ten horns which thou sawest upon the beast, these shall hate the whore, and shall make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and burn her with fire: for God hath put in their hearts to fulfil his will, and to agree, and give their kingdom unto the beast, until the words

of God shall be fulfilled." And in a former verse it is said, "These ten horns are ten kings, which have received no kingdom as yet; but receive power as kings one hour with the beast: these have one mind, and shall give their power and strength unto the beast." These verses together indicate to us a great confederacy on the part of the ten kingdoms, to destroy and annihilate the Papacy. Whether the infidel prince that is to arise shall have power given to him to dethrone the present kings, and to set up others in their room who shall hate the Papacy as much as these kings affect her; or whether the Papacy shall, by her restlessness of ambition, and attempts at rule and government, disgust the present sovereigns of the kingdoms; or whether the spread of infidel principles shall, in the great earthquake about to come, pull down those kings and set up others in their room: whether in any of these ways, or in some other, the prediction is to be accomplished, I do most surely believe, that, when the infidel prince shall arise, God shall incline the hearts of the kings or kingdoms unto him; (for we have seen that a horn signifies either a king or a kingdom:) and they shall have one mind —there shall be one infidel spirit over the ten kingdoms; which are, as we have proved above, Great Britain, France, Austria, Spain, Portugal, Sardinia, Naples, and the three papal kingdoms of Lombardy, Ravenna, and Rome—and with one heart and mind shall they join together to put down the Papacy and to destroy it; and the wondering multitude shall be joined to their league: and the priests and their priestcraft shall be scattered like

smoke, and every one who will not abjure Babylon shall be cut off: and so the power of the little horn shall be abolished for ever. They who made him shall unmake him; they who adorned him shall strip him; they who fed him shall starve him; they who worshipped him shall set their foot upon him. The superstition shall perish for ever.

But think not, therefore, that the Pope and his priesthood are over with it. Many of these, and himself at the head of them, shall come over to the infidel prince, and shall become the priests of infidelity, as they did in France at the revolution. They are ripe for it, they are ready for it, even now. They have no faith, they have no principle: infidelity hath eaten out the heart even of that superstition. I speak in this matter with confidence, because we find in the train of the beast, when he makes war with the Lamb, the "false prophet," as well as the "kings of the earth;" and these two, the beast and the false prophet, are cast alive into a lake burning with brimstone. I believe, therefore, that all Papal Europe—priests, kings, and people—shall become infidel, and in their infidelity shall destroy every vestige and relic of the Papal superstition; which will not come to pass without a terrible convulsion, that will make the world stand aghast. But come to pass it will; and being come to pass, the judgment of the great whore is accomplished; Great Babylon hath received the cup of the wine of the fierceness of God's wrath; the judgment hath sat, and hath taken away the little horn's dominion, to consume and destroy it unto the end.

So much have we to say for the method of this

judgment upon the Papacy. And now, for the completeness of it let us peruse the xviii th chap. of the Apocalypse, wherein the same is declared with a plentifulness of imagery; which ought to leave no doubt, upon the mind of every believer, as to the kind and as to the degree of judgment with which Babylon is to be visited. In these words the burden of her catastrophe is summed up: "Babylon the Great is fallen, is fallen, and is become the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird." This description is taken almost verbatim from the xiii th chap. of Isaiah, and serves to identify the mystical with the literal Babylon. It is also taken from the xxxiv th chap. of Isaiah, and serves to identify the Papacy, apostate Christendom, with Edom and Idumea. And the meaning of all the three passages is, that every thing unclean and every thing hateful upon the earth—every foul bird, and every savage creature—should take up their abode in this the ruin of the church, in this the waste and wilderness of the world: and those places which heretofore had been the wilderness and solitude of the earth should rejoice, because their tenants of evil omen had forsaken them, to make their lodgment in Babylon, in Idumea, in the territory of the apostasy, in the land of God's curse; which I believe, according to God's own word, shall lie desolate for ever. "The streams thereof shall be turned into pitch, and the dust thereof into brimstone, and the land thereof shall become burning pitch. It shall not be quenched night nor day; the smoke thereof shall go up for ever: from genera-

tion to generation it shall lie waste; none shall pass through it for ever and ever: but the cormorant and the bittern shall possess it; the owl also and the raven shall dwell in it: and he shall stretch out upon it the line of confusion, and the stones of emptiness. They shall call the nobles thereof to the kingdom, but none shall be there, and all her princes shall be nothing. And thorns shall come up in her palaces, nettles and brambles in the fortresses thereof: and it shall be an habitation for dragons, and a court for owls. The wild beasts of the desert shall also meet with the wild beasts of the island, and the satyr shall cry to his fellow; the screech-owl also shall rest there, and find for herself a place of rest. There shall the great owl make her nest, and lay, and hatch, and gather under her shadow: there shall the vultures also be gathered, every one with her mate." Such is the ample description of misery to which the language of the second verse pointeth our attention.

Then follow the causes of her so terrible visitation: "For all nations have drunk of the wine of the wrath of her fornication." She has been the corrupter of the whole earth, and brought down upon all nations the wrath of God. "And the kings of the earth have committed fornication with her," by yielding to her seductions and sorceries, and practising with her idolatry and false religion. "And the merchants of the earth are waxed rich through the abundance of her delicacies." Hers was a spiritual traffic, whereof the particulars are given in the 12th and 13th verses. Those who dealt in her spiritual wares are called the "merchants of the earth;" referring,

as I take it, to the priesthood, who were to arise and make merchandise of men's souls. Wherein also is fulfilled the type of Balaam, who loved the wages of iniquity, and taught Balak to cast a stumbling-block before the Lord's people, that they might commit fornication with the daughters of Moab.

Then comes, in ver. 4 and onwards to the end of the chapter, the particulars of that judgment and guilt which had been thus summarily expressed. But first there is the offer of mercy, and of deliverance unto the people of God: "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues; for her sins have reached unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities." —I would indeed that men would zealously lift up this voice, and that they would give heed to the way in which the Lord lifteth it up. It is not as if God were to break the silence of the upper heavens, and fill the hollow vault with articulate words; but it is that on the earth he will cause, before the judgment, such a cry to be lifted up by his church. And lifted up it has been, by ministers and by people: a whole nation, I may say, have lifted it up unto their king and their governors. For what moved that multitude of petitions from the people of this land to their sovereign and his estates of parliament? It was not fear of man; it was not the voice of the expiring valour of this people: no, it was the voice of the people's knowledge that Babylon was foredoomed of God; that all who would be joined with her should receive of her plagues. Who will say that the passing of this Papacy-legalizing Bill may not

have been in God's hand the means of causing the cry of Babylon's judgment to be lifted up in the hearing of the kingdom? for never was the attention of all Europe so riveted upon Britain, and never did the voice of Britain so fully and so strongly lift itself up against the Papacy, because its judgments are near for to come. Very sublime, and very solemn, was the uplifted voice of Britain in the ear of an attentive world: and I say again, it was not the fear of man, but it was the fear of God's judgments ready to be executed, which drew forth the groan and agony of the people in the ear of their king and his estates. The pulpit had become dumb, and the congregation lifted up their voice and spake; and the men of letters mocked, the men of talent made a jest of our calamity, and the infidel generation glory in our defeat and disappointment. But, if I be right in thus interpreting the uplifted voice of the nation, they will not long have reason to glory: for, without an interval, it is said (ver. 6) "Reward her even as she rewarded you, and double unto her double according to her works; in the cup which she hath filled, fill to her double:" as it is written (Ps. lxxv. 7), "God is the Judge: he putteth down one and setteth up another: for in the hand of the Lord is a cup, and the wine is red; it is full of mixture; and he poureth out of the same: but the dregs thereof all the wicked of the earth shall wring them out and drink them." And then follows, in the same passage, what Christ will do when he shall receive the congregation: "I will declare for ever, I will sing praises to the God of Jacob. All the horns of the wicked also will I

cut off, but the horns of the righteous shall be exalted." Of this cup, Babylon is to receive the double portion, because she is the first-born of hell; for into the pit she descendeth quick before, whereas the devil is not taken thither till after the Millenium. Then cometh (ver. 7) both the cause and the measure of her torment,—self-glory and self-indulgence: "How much she hath glorified herself and lived deliciously, so much torment and sorrow give her. For she saith in her heart, I sit a queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow." The church ought to have been a widow, to have worn a widow's weeds, and mourned with a widow's lamentation her removed Lord; yet not sorrowing as those which have no hope, but looking foward to the coming again of the Lord, when she should be joined to him in eternal espousals, and sit beside him, as his queen, upon his throne. But, instead of this humble and hopeful, sorrowful yet joyful, estate, she weddeth herself to the kings of the earth, and saith, "I sit a queen:" and, again, she maketh unto herself a head and a husband in an apostate priest; and when she hath crowned him Pope, it is their custom to proclaim aloud, in the hearing of all the people, 'The church is no longer a widow.' On account of these her boastings and vain-glory, it is said (verse 8) "therefore shall her plagues come in one day, death and mourning and famine; and she shall be utterly burned with fire: for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her." This, again, carries us to a prophecy in Isaiah xlvii. (7—9), which was fulfilled in the literal Babylon to the very letter, both in the time of Darius the Mede, and afterwards in the time of

Darius the Persian, as we have set forth in our Third Discourse; and having before us these two corroborations in the type, we may certainly expect the truth in the antitype to be likewise fulfilled to the very letter.

Then cometh the chorus, first of mourners, and then of rejoicers. Amongst the mourners, first appear "the kings of the earth;" those who committed fornication and lived deliciously with her: "they shall bewail her, and lament for her, when they shall see the smoke of her burning, standing afar off for the fear of her torment, saying, Alas! alas! that great city Babylon, that mighty city! for in one hour is thy judgment come." Because she is here set forth as a city, we are not to suppose that the desolation extendeth not beyond the bounds of Rome; for the city is but the symbol of that spiritual sovereignty which she exerciseth. The sovereignty, in the Millennium, is to stand in a city, which is at once the bride of the Lamb and the habitation of the Lamb: so the devil, in his mimickry of the truth (for he is ever a liar), hath set up his abomination in a city; and therefore, because it really is so in Rome, and because it was so in Babylon of old, this symbol of a city expresseth the dominion, the spiritual dominion, of the Papacy, which is to be utterly destroyed; and at the same time it expresseth the city itself, in which the woman sitteth, upon which judgment in one hour is to fall. She falls before the kings do fall; and the kings lament over the greatness of her ruin, which themselves have brought, like Titus lamenting over Jerusalem, which he could not help destroying. The next

chorus which proceedeth is composed of the "merchants of the earth," who weep and mourn over her; for no man buyeth their merchandise, "the merchandise of gold and silver and precious stones, and of pearls, and fine linen, and purple, and silk, and scarlet, and all thyine wood, and all manner vessels of ivory, and all manner vessels of most precious wood, and of brass, and iron, and marble, and cinnamon, and odours, and ointments, and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and slaves, and souls of men."—I do not say that I understand thoroughly the meaning of this enumeration. That it is symbolical, like the rest of the vision, I make little doubt; but whether it be a symbol merely of the largeness of her spiritual merchandise, the number of the commodities upon which her avarice throve; or whether each be a symbol of some spiritual thing, or whether the symbol stand in the merchandise—that, as merchants make wealth by trading in these commodities, so she made wealth by trading in all sorts of spiritual craft, inventions, and delusions;—or whether, as some have thought, there be an allusion to the dresses and various furniture of her idolatry and processions and shews, I take not upon myself to determine; but do rather incline to think within myself, that by this enumeration—beginning with the most precious things of elemental nature, and ascending by regular gradation, through the most precious and costly fabrics and vessels of man's art, through the most fragrant, nutritious, and joyful fruits of the vegetable world, through the most choice species of the animal creation, up

to the body and the soul of man—by this perfect and complete scale of creation I incline to believe is signified, that this wicked superstition did set itself to engross for its own nourishment, and to use for its own advantage, and to rule over for its own glory, whatever most precious and most excellent in all kinds God hath created under the sun. And therefore, because in every one of these departments of God's beautiful and bountiful creation she had planted her cunning emissaries, to gather by Satanic delusion into her unsatisfied bosom all these blessings—which God intended for the comfort of his creatures, for the arguments of a good providence watching over them ever, and the incitements of a loving faith and holy obedience of Him—therefore, for her corrupting the whole earth, and making it barren that she only might be rich, doth judgment come upon her. Merchant-priests do lament, when they behold the fruits that her soul lusted after departed from her, and all things which were dainty and goodly departed from her, and she shall find them no more at all. And "the merchants of these things, which were made rich by her, shall stand afar off, for the fear of her torment, weeping and wailing, and saying, Alas! alas! that great city, that was clothed in fine linen, and purple, and scarlet, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls! for in one hour so great riches is come to nought." Then, in the train of the merchants of the earth who lament over her—as you may conceive the merchants of the world would lament if she were to sink down into the abyss—who should come next, but those ship-masters, and ship-owners, and sailors, whose bread was broken,

whose occupation was utterly gone? Accordingly, in the procession of mourners, next after the kings and merchants, come the ship-masters. "And every ship-master, and all the company in ships, and sailors, and as many as trade by sea, stood afar off, and cried when they saw the smoke of her burning, saying, What city is like unto this great city! And they cast dust on their heads, and cried, weeping and wailing, and saying, Alas! alas! that great city, wherein were made rich all that had ships in the sea by reason of her costliness! for in one hour is she made desolate."—Oh, what a sublime vision it is! how beautiful, how grand, how noble! how sublime all its images, yet how exact, how distinct, how perfect! Let this book be my heavenly poetry; let this book be my heavenly drama. Here let my soul enjoy the amplitude of idea, the profundity of meaning, the awfulness of action, the fitness, the perfectness of composition—every thing whatever which can seize, possess, fill, and ravish the human mind!

And after the solemn dirge, thus in threefold succession lifted up, by the noble, by the wealthy, and by the people of the earth, hear ye the strains of triumph which rise from hearts of another kind, from minds of a higher mood, from spirits of a deeper understanding: "Rejoice over her, thou heaven, and ye holy Apostles and Prophets; for God hath avenged you on her." And over her they do rejoice; and their joy no man taketh from them, for it is everlasting; but the particular song which they sing is reserved until the fact and effect of her utter destruction hath been described. "And a mighty angel took up a stone, like a great milstone, and cast it into the

sea, saying, Thus with violence shall that great city Babylon be thrown down, and shall be found no more at all." So did Jeremiah command Seraiah to do, after he had read the book of his prophecy in the hearing of Babylon: (Jer. li. 63), "And it shall be, when thou hast made an end of reading this book, that thou shalt bind a stone to it, and cast it into the midst of Euphrates; and thou shalt say, Thus shall Babylon sink, and shall not rise from the evil that I will bring upon her." And what more? Is there any thing more written concerning her? Yea: hear the grand finale of her misery: "And the voice of harpers, and musicians, and of pipers, and of trumpeters, shall be heard no more at all in thee; and no craftsmen, of whatsoever craft, shall be found any more in thee; and the sound of a milstone shall be heard no more at all in thee; and the light of a candle shall shine no more at all in thee; and the voice of the bridegroom and of the bride shall be heard no more at all in thee: for thy merchants were the great men of the earth, for by thy sorceries were all nations deceived: and in her was found the blood of prophets and of saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth." This weight of blood laded her down to the abyss. The cry of the martyrs at length prevailed against her: their complete number is at length accomplished: God's patience is at length exhausted: Babylon falls, for ever falls, to rise no more. Whereupon, in obedience to the invocation which had been addressed unto them, the song of triumph began to swell from the upper heavens: the "voice of much people in heaven" reached the ear of the seer. And

how runneth their song? Is it a strain of doleful pity? is it commiseration, is it deploration for Babylon's miserable, hopeless ruin? Hear, O hear, thou church on earth! and learn a lesson of the feelings of heavenly minds towards the mother of harlots. "Alleluia; salvation, and glory, and honour, and power, unto the Lord our God: for true and righteous are his judgments: for he hath judged the great whore, which did corrupt the earth with her fornication, and hath avenged the blood of his servants at her hand. And again they said, Alleluia. And her smoke rose up for ever and ever"—an eternity of fiery death. The false prophet was cast quick into the lake of fire burning with brimstone.—Thus sang the children of salvation; thus sang the redeemed church, who had been brought out of much tribulation, having washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. And how stood the great council of heaven affected by that which was done on earth, and thus celebrated by the sons of salvation? "The four-and-twenty elders, and the four living creatures, fell down and worshipped God that sat on the throne, saying, Amen; Alleluia. And a voice"—even the voice of the great Leader of the choir, the voice of the head worshipper of all, the voice of our David, sweet singer and harper of the church—"a voice came out of the throne, saying, Praise our God, all ye his servants, and ye that fear him, both small and great." And, obedient to the heavenly voice, the full chorus riseth sublime, like the hoarse but mellow "voice of many waters;" and ever and anon, in the midst of the mighty ocean of melody, came notes of strength, like the noise of "mighty

thunderings," shaking the very base of heaven. "I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunderings, saying; Alleluia; for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth! Let us be glad and rejoice, and give honour to him; for the marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready." And wherein consisteth her readiness for the marriage? No purple, no scarlet, no pearls, of earthy, or at best of moonshine lustre. No: "to her was granted that she should be arrayed in fine linen, clean and white: for the fine linen is the righteousness of saints." And thus we are left to believe that the marriage supper proceedeth, which accordingly is represented in the last two chapters; and therefore the angel saith unto John; "Write; Blessed are they which are called unto the marriage supper of the Lamb. And he saith unto me, These are the true sayings of God. And I fell at his feet to worship him; and he said, See thou do it not: I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren that have the testimony of Jesus: worship God: for the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy."—Such, so grand, so solemn, so awful, so joyful, so rapturous, is the event of Babylon's downfall. It is indeed very wonderful, passing wonderful! and I am lost in the admiration of it. I desire humbly to learn; to open my ears and to receive the spirit of this heavenly concord, and, if the Lord please, to give utterance to the same, so long as I shall live; hoping, humbly hoping, to be amongst those sons of salvation who surround the throne and rejoice over Babylon's downfall. I have not been silent upon earth, and I trust I

shall be permitted to lift up my voice in heaven. Amen: the Lord grant it to us all!

But there still remaineth the infidel beast, with the ten kings, the territorial body of the beast; and what is to become of it in the judgment? This now is the question which remaineth, in order to complete the subject of the judgment. In considering this second part of the judgment, there is no such distinct information to be found any where, as in the xviith, xviiith, and xixth chapters of the Apocalypse, out of which we have already extracted the judgment of the idolatrous church.

There is a difficulty about the last or infidel form of the ten-horned beast, which I have no desire to disguise, but shall state it, in the hope that God will clear it in the course of our study. The difficulty is this, that "the ten horns are ten kings, which have received no kingdom as yet, but receive power as kings one hour with the beast." The difficulty is, their receiving power "one hour with the beast." The expression "with the beast," or "along with the beast," is difficult to understand, when we consider the beast spoken of to be the beast under its eighth head, "which is also of the seven." If indeed we could adopt a loose way of interpreting, and take the beast to signify the beast during the Papal period, as well as during the Infidel period, this difficulty would be avoided; and this is the way in which generally it hath been avoided: but when we interpret the beast, strictly, of the person of the eighth head who is also of the seven, and which is about to arise and destroy the

Papacy and make war with the Lamb, the question is, why should the ten kings be said to "have no kingdom as yet, but to receive power for one hour," as it were for that single action? That they had no kingdom as yet when the vision was given to John, is very true; but the expression would seem to signify that they were not to receive it till the time of the eighth or last head, which is contrary to the fact, and contrary also to the vision of the forty-and-two months, where they are all represented with crowns upon them. Here, then, is a difficulty, and an apparent contradiction; but, like all apparent contradictions in a true scheme of interpretation, it doth, being resolved, only the more confirm the same. For this explanation we have two elements. The first is, the expression "one hour," which is the duration of their action: "they received power one hour with the beast." Now this one hour is never used of any other action of the Apocalypse but the destruction of Babylon, and there it occurs repeatedly—as hath been seen in the passages we have quoted. This very much confirms the notion, that the power which they receive as kings with the beast one hour is truly to be confined to the last act of the destruction of the Papacy. But then the question arises, 'Have not these ten horns had power as kings for many hundred years? and what then is the meaning of their receiving power as kings one hour with the beast, in order to bring destruction upon Babylon, and bring destruction upon themselves by fighting against the Lamb?' The answer to this is found in the second element given us for the resolution of the enigma, which is, that when this beast appeareth the third and last time, bearing the great whore, he appeareth

without crowns upon his horns, and likewise without crowns upon his heads. These horns, therefore, which were crowned during the forty-and-two months, do become uncrowned when the beast reappears in the vision of the whore's judgment; and being so, if they are to act as kings in that judgment, they must receive power to do so. When thus accurately examined, therefore, the vision proves to be perfectly consistent with itself; there is really no perplexity nor enigma. In the Pagan period of the xiith chapter, the heads are crowned and the horns uncrowned; in the Papal period of the xiiith chapter, the heads are uncrowned and the horns crowned; in the vision of the Infidel period, or the period of judgment, both heads and horns are uncrowned: and therefore, if these horns are to be crowned kings when they destroy the harlot and come to their own end, they must receive that power as kings, which somehow or other hath been lost or intermitted. So far then as the vision is concerned, it is perfectly consistent with itself, as will always be found in God's perfect word. And now, how standeth the interpretation? how do the facts of history, since the Infidel period commenced, square with the vision in this respect? This we now proceed to examine.

The Infidel period commenced as we have said, with the year 1792: and this seventeenth chapter proposes to represent unto us the judgment of the Papacy at the hand of the Infidel beast and the ten kings; and how is it done? It is done, as we have seen, by representing the same beast under a two-fold action; the same spirit of infidelity once and again ascending from the

bottomless pit, to animate the seventh head, and then to animate the eighth head of the beast, which also is of the seven. Now, as the sixth head deceased in the year 1806, and the beast cannot act without a living head, this new presentation of the beast must necessarily be under Napoleon, whom we shewed to be the seventh head when he incorporated the city of Rome into his kingdom. And how was it at this time with the horns?—for this now is the era of the seventh head, and of the beast's re-appearance as an animated entire creature: though the year 1792 be the breaking out of the infidel spirit, it took the interval from 1792 to 1806 before the seventh head came into action, inspiring the whole body, and the sixth fell for ever. Now the question is, How at this time was it with the horns? were they crowned, or were they uncrowned? The question is, I say, How was it with the horns during the action of the seventh head? not so much at the time of his becoming head, but during his action? The answer is, They were without crowns. The king of France was uncrowned; the king of Naples; the king of Sardinia; the king of Spain; the king of Portugal; the Pope, with his three kingdoms; and Austria, though she had a crown, had in truth no action or power as a king, but from that time forth was at the will and beck of the seventh head, even to the yielding up of her daughter. So that, excepting Great Britain, which is the sealed nation, the hundred and forty-four thousand that had been redeemed from the earth, all the horns are uncrowned during the action of the seventh head. He made kings, indeed, in their stead; but God

doth not reckon them such: neither doth God account any thing of his own coronation over France, because that crown he placed upon his own head, and took not from the hands of the church, in token of allegiance unto Christ. So that, for all and all, the action of the beast under the seventh head was truly and really without crowns either upon the heads or the horns.

So much for what is past; and now what do we behold present before our eyes? First of all, we behold the seventh head removed, and with it the activity of the ten-horned beast; which since the resignation of Napoleon hath no longer acted under the inspiration of its seventh head. The beast was, and is not; and yet, as we have explained, it is, in the septimo-octave head, which is even now in existence, though not yet called to exert itself. During this interval, what have we seen with respect to the ten kings? We have seen them every one restored to his crown: France, Spain, Portugal, Naples, Sardinia, and the Pope, all restored; and Austria brought back into her former, if not more than her former, independence. The kings therefore, who had power taken from them during the former part of the seventh headship, during the former act of imperial infidelity, have now their thrones and crowns restored to them—"power given to them one hour with the beast." They have also had their first judgment: they have suffered, as parts of the Papal system, at the hand of the infidel head, whom heretofore they opposed. But the word of the prophecy which we are now explaining doth assure us, that to the eighth head, which is about to arise, they

will be disposed to grant their influence, in order to destroy the Papacy. I cannot tell—it is hard to give exact and minute interpretations of things to come—but it doth seem to me, from the language of this prophecy, that the ten present kings, or some others at that time standing in their room, are about to give their influence to the King of Rome, who is yet to rise to the head of affairs, and with him become confederate in the work of destroying the Papacy.

And having thus cleared our way, we come to inquire as to the manner of their own destruction. It is said in the xviith chapter, ver. 13, that "they have one mind, and shall give their power and strength unto the beast. These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them: for he is Lord of lords and King of kings; and they that are with him are called, and chosen, and faithful." This, therefore, I believe to be the manner of their destruction. But the question is, What doth this mean? what is the meaning of making war with the Lamb, and being overcome by him? If we can understand this matter, we shall have the thing we are in quest of; we shall understand the judgment of the ten kings of Papal Christendom. Now for this end God hath given us the revelation contained in the latter half of the xixth chapter, beginning at the 11th verse, where the judgment upon Babylon was brought to a close. "And I saw heaven opened, and, behold, a white horse" (which is the symbol of a triumphant king or emperor, being the same which is given unto Constantine in the first seal); "and he that sat upon him was called Faithful and True" (to signify that in him God's faithfulness

and truth was now about to receive a most glorious manifestation); "and in righteousness he doth judge and make war" (signifying that he was now coming in judgment, as the "man of war"). "His eyes were as a flame of fire" (symbol of his wrath and indignation, of his judgment and execution of judgment; being the same title which he takes towards the church of Thyatira: "These things saith the Son of God, which hath his eyes like unto a flame of fire"), "and on his head were many crowns" (signifying his right to the crowns of Christendom, and of the whole world, which became his at the sounding of the seventh trumpet: and, like a mighty and courageous king going into battle against a set of usurpers, he doth place upon his head the crowns to which he as rightful heir hath the true title); "and he had a name written, which no man knew but he himself" (symbol of his Divinity, of which no creature whatever is conscious but himself; cipher of an intercourse between him and the invisible God, which no creature can understand, but himself).—"And he was clothed in a vesture dipped in blood." This is an important feature of his person, as giving us a clue to the event which immediately preceded this whereon he comes; for the language is taken directly from the lxiii d chap. of Isaiah, "Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah?....I have trodden the wine-press alone....And their blood shall be sprinkled upon my garments, and I will stain all my raiment: for the day of vengeance is in mine heart, and the year of my redeemed is come." Now, we have already seen that the destruction of Babylon—the false vine, the vine of the earth—

is described in the same language with the judgment upon Edom, or Idumea, in Isaiah xxxiv.; which is doubtless the same mystery with this of Isaiah lxiii. because both refer to it, and in both the time, and the event, and the cause of the event, are declared to be the same: it is "the day of the Lord's vengeance, and the year of recompences for the controversy of Zion." His coming, therefore, with a garment dipped in blood, doth denote that he hath been already engaged in the destruction of the Papacy, which had not been effected without much manslaughter; and, this accomplished, he now cometh to the destruction of the kings.—"And his name is called The Word of God;" to signify that he was the same person who had taken flesh of the Virgin Mary, had been crucified, and had risen from the dead, and now is coming again in the glory of his Father to conquer and take possession of the inheritance which he hath purchased with his blood.—"And the armies which were in heaven followed him upon white horses, clothed in fine linen, white and clean." Their garment "is not dipped in blood, because he had trodden the wine-press alone, and of the people there was none with him." But now he cometh to be glorified in his saints, and his saints therefore come along with him, even those who have been clothed for the marriage supper of the Lamb. But first they must be exhibited as triumphant conquerors; and therefore, as triumphant conquerors, seated upon white horses, the hosts of heaven follow the Lord of hosts.—"And out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword, that with it he should smite the nations: and he shall rule them

with a rod of iron." This promise was made to him by the Father when he ascended up on high, "that he would set him upon his holy hill of Zion, and give him the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession;" —and this promise also he maketh to every one that overcometh; and now the promise is fulfilled, when not alone, but with the following of all the saints, he cometh to judge and smite the nations.—"And he treadeth the wine-press of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God." Not he hath trodden, but he doth tread it; for this is the great treading of the wine-press without the city. The city itself had been judged, but it still remaineth to judge the kings and the people; and this is done beyond the city, in the valley of Jehoshaphat, being the great battle of Armageddon, which is the event here commemorated, therefore, though it be said his vesture was dipped in blood, —the fruit of some previous action, the action of destroying Babylon the Great,—it is said here that he treadeth, is in the act of treading, the wine-press of the fierceness of the wrath of God.—And, lastly, "He hath on his vesture, and on his thigh, a name written, King of kings, and Lord of lords;" proving him to be the Lamb, with whom the beast and the kings of the earth make war, for that Lamb is named "Lord of lords and King of kings, and they that are with him are called, and chosen, and faithful." No one can doubt that this is an act of war, on which Christ and his people are bent. The same act of war it is which is celebrated in the iid Psalm, and in the cxth Psalm, and in the xlvth Psalm, and in all the Old Testa-

ment Scriptures, which speak of Messiah's advent; of which, as a specimen, let this passage from the xliid of Isaiah suffice: "The Lord shall go forth as a mighty man; he shall stir up jealousy like a man of war: he shall cry; yea roar; he shall prevail against his enemies. I have long time holden my peace; I have been still and refrained myself: now will I cry like a travailing woman; I will destroy and devour at once. I will make waste mountains and hills, and dry up all their herbs; and I will make the rivers islands, and I will dry up the pools." And it is remarkable that in all parts of the Old Testament, this mighty act of war in which he shall destroy the confederate kings of the earth, and fill the places with dead bodies, never faileth to be connected with the restoration of the Jews; yea, and for that very end is it represented as done.

Whether it be a personal representation of Messiah or not; whether in very deed he shall put on righteousness as a breastplate, and an helmet of salvation on his head, and put on the garments of vengeance for clothing, and be clad with zeal, as with a cloak, we do not stay at present to examine; but that it is an act of violent war, an action of bloodshed and manslaughter, which, on the victorious side, is to be conducted by Christ and his people, visible or invisible, there can be no doubt. I confess myself somewhat in a perplexity to resolve completely the meaning of this heavenly array: I see that it is in keeping with all the Old Testament, whose language is embodied in it; but we are not therefore to confound the symbolical with the literal, because the symbolical is written in the language of the literal.

The symbolical must always be taken from the literal, or real, whether in creation or in providence; and sometimes the real event in providence lies in the past, sometimes it lies in the future. When it lies in the future, it hath its reality from a prophecy of God, which hath been realized in part, but in the greater part remaineth unrealized. This is the case with the sixth seal, which is written in the language proper to the changing of the heavens and the earth; and it is the case with the vision before us, which is written in the language of the last great deliverance of the Jewish people. But because the symbolical is written in the language of the real, we are not therefore to confuse the one with the other. They are not the same; for what had been written in real simple history, and plain language, would never be written over again in allegorical and symbolical language. This is an observation of great importance, and most necessary to guard from error the soundest interpreters of the Apocalypse; those I mean who proceed, by searching out its meaning from the Old Testament. While they do this with all diligence, let them be most careful not to confound the time of the two events, nor yet the purpose of them, which will always be found to be different, yet generally bearing to one another the relation of spiritual and literal. Now, as the spiritual in the baptized church has taken the precession of the literal, ever since the time of Christ, we may generally expect that the symbolical forth-setting of the spiritual, in the Apocalypse, will precede, in point of time, the literal forth-setting of the outward Jewish history in the books of the Old Tes-

tament. I may observe here, that for want of attention to this most important remark, Ben Ezra hath erred in almost all his interpretations of the Apocalypse; and I have never met with a Jew in my life, to whom I could make this matter intelligible, so completely are they bound up in the literal. On these accounts, though I certainly believe that Messiah will appear at the head of his faithful and chosen people, to destroy and subvert the enemies of the Jews, when they shall invade them in their own land, under Gog the great head of the Greek confederation; and because the remainder of this description is taken from that chapter of Ezekiel; though I do further believe, that this great overthrow of Gog, when Christ sheweth himself shaking the spheres, is the real historical fact, in future time, from which the symbol before us is taken, and by which it is to be understood, yet am I not prepared to confound the symbolical with the literal, by saying that this which is here set forth is the very personal appearance of Christ and all his saints. But this I do believe, that the array of the heavenly host doth signify some great demonstration of Divine power, put forth against the beast, and the kings of the earth, who have come up on some most blasphemous, heaven-defying, Christ-dethroning, expedition, of mighty warlike prowess.

What it is, I know not, and desire not curiously to inquire; but from its being written in the sublime language of the xxxixth of Ezekiel, which details the last great confederacy of Antichristian nations, under the Imperial head of the Greek church, to root out the Jewish people, then quiet-

ly settled in their land, I do not doubt that this array of the Latin kings, under Rome's last head, is set forth with some most daring purpose of gainsaying and gainstanding the word of God; of making war with the Lamb; of rooting out Christian religion from the earth, and planting pure infidelity in its stead. I feel a strong confidence that I am right in this belief, and that those who live to see it, if I do not, will find that the progress of the infidel head of Rome, which is yet to arise, will be like that of his co-partner and fellow who hath passed away. First, a confederation of all the papal kings, (whether Britain be excluded or not I cannot tell, but rather apprehend not), under the influence of liberalism, under the rage of liberalism, under the madness of liberalism, to put down all vestiges of the papal superstition, to make the harlot naked and desolate, to eat her flesh, and burn her with fire. And, this done, in the height and spring-tide of their liberal zeal, they will in the second place proceed, like Julian the apostate, undertaking to build the temple that he might falsify the word of God, so, in likewise, believe I that Christendom, confederate under the last head of the beast, will proceed upon some mighty enterprise of liberality, some crusade of zeal against the word of God; in which, I believe further, the Pope and his wicked staff of apostate priests, and I should fear also, multitudes of our prophecy-despising sectaries,—from Unitarians on the one extreme, to spiritual Evangelicals on the other,—will go trooping at his back; the confederated liberality of Europe I say, blinded with zeal, and drunk with the wine of delusion, and having no

faith in prophecy, but daring things in the teeth of it; as they have dared to pass this papal bill in the teeth of God's word voracious against Babylon:—so, I say, for some great, huge, vague imagination of good to be done, will the infidel strength of Europe go forth trooping on some high emprise of desperate wickedness, and contradiction of God's word; out of which shall come that hideous destruction of the fourth beast, which in these most sublime words is set forth to us (ver. 17): "And I saw an angel standing in the sun; and he cried with a loud voice, saying to all the fowls that fly in the midst of the heavens, Come and gather yourselves together unto the supper of the great God; that ye may eat the flesh of kings, and the flesh of captains, and the flesh of mighty men, and the flesh of horses, and of them that sit on them, and the flesh of all men, both free and bond, both small and great." It is a last carnage: it is the extirpation and the destruction of all the mighty potentates of the earth, with all their inferior officers of state, authority, and power; and of all the people who madly follow them, on this heaven-daring expedition,—the last undertaking, the terminating act, the final catastrophe of the fourth kingdom. If you look back to the sixth seal, you will find these very personages all astonied and thunder-stricken in their minds, with the presentiment that the great day of God's destructive wrath was hanging out its bloody emblems in their fearful sight. But behold, now we bring that agony of fearful apprehension, into which the earth was cast, by the earthquake of the French Revolution, is passed away. Liberal principles are no more

dreaded, revolution principles are no more feared; they have fairly gotten the upper hand, even in this island the sanctuary of the world. They wait only a leader, they are ready for every exploit, and the Lord shall soon fill their hand with work, and their head with one fell purpose; in sign whereof, to give most awful note, an angel lifteth up his voice from the sun, and calleth all the feathered fowls of heaven to come unto the slaughter; for there will be plenty for them all,—a rich repast,—"the flesh of kings, the flesh of captains, the flesh of mighty men, the flesh of horses and of them that sit on them, the flesh of all both free and bond, both small and great."

And now come we to the mighty conflict (ver. 19): "And I saw the beast, and the kings of the earth, and their armies, gathered together to make war against him that sat on the horse, and against his army;" the same army which we have seen mentioned in the xviith chapter. "The ten horns which thou sawest are ten kings, which have received no kingdom as yet; but receive power as kings one hour with the beast. These have one mind, and shall give their power and strength unto the beast. These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them; for he is Lord of lords, and King of kings: and they that are with him are called, and chosen, and faithful."—We are not to suppose, as I have said above, that they are hardened enough to go forth and fight with a real heavenly army, with Christ and with his saints marshalled upon the fields of this nether world; but we are to suppose that they go, bound upon some undertaking, which is of

a kind worthy to be expressed by so grand a symbol, as heaven unpeopled to withstand them. It is some religious war: it hath some Antichristian object: it hath some most diabolical purpose: it is hell unkennelled, which makes heaven to open and send forth its bright army. What it is I say not, I cannot tell. Daniel indeed, in the end of the xith chapter, gives us the place of it, "in the glorious holy mountain." I would not say for mine own part, but that this infidel prince, bright with all honour of personal beauty, inspired with the highest genius, and most generous devotion to every liberal and benevolent principle, mighty in arms, wise in counsel, and with all other godlike ornaments arrayed, might—I do not say that he will, but I do not say that it is impossible he may, and I rather incline to believe he will—set himself up as an object of men's worship; yea, that men, deprived of the right objects of faith and worship, will be found forward to yield it unto him; to press it upon him as they did it upon Napoleon; and thus, by Satan's guile helping mightily, and God's grace withdrawn—wearied out with men's religious liberality,—I deem it may come to pass,—though I be no prophet, nor prophet's son, yet the most singular and remarkable expression, "they shall make war with the Lamb" moveth me to believe that this godlike person, "Lucifer the son of the morning," who worshippeth no god, but honoureth the god of forces, may set himself up as a god; perhaps as the Messiah promised to the earth, and half hiding, half revealing his purpose as Mohammed did,—to whom he is likened as proceeding from the bottomless pit,—he may, under

one pretence or another, so beguile and so captivate the minds of men; of liberal men; of unprincipled liberal men; yea even of Unitarians and other schismatical sectaries, and of prophecy-despising Evangelicals, and of enlightened Churchmen of these enlightened times, who are ever foremost in the cause of mechanical, philosophical, literary, and political devices against Christ and his church; all these, I say, may be enticed by one expedient or another: some to do the more good, by doing evil in the first place; others to do nothing but evil; yet may such an heterogeneous mass, of churchmen, sectaries, deists, atheists, soothfast and handfast with one another, go forth under the leading of this godlike son of perdition, who, binding all and leading all, and consociating all with his mighty genius, may draw them forth upon a grand scheme of improving mankind; of revolutionizing the ignorant barbarism of the East; of restoring classic light and classic liberty; and a thousand other high-minded devices which will not want advocates in the senate and in the pulpit, and will have all the press whom it can afford to hire. And to Jerusalem the glorious holy mountain he may go, sustained perhaps by Jewish gold, gathering perhaps into his great and gallant device the restoration of the Jewish people, haply, like Napoleon, receiving their homage as Messiah. Thus, even thus, I do sometimes fancy, sometimes dream, and sometimes believe, that it shall be accomplished; and that the end of liberality will be a great stupendous lie. Its end will be a great act of man-worship; a superstition like to that of Thibet; a folly like to that of China:

and so it will be shewn, to what a summit of derangement, to what a pitch of madness, to what a babble of folly, the human mind, despising God, and apostate from Christ, reason's perfection may come. Time will shew, not many years perhaps will shew, whether this be a dream of my own cogitation, or an interpretation of these most marvellous words, "They shall make war with the Lamb." But, however this may be, here is the issue of the conflict, the final overthrow and ultimate perdition of the fourth and last beast (ver. 20): "And the beast was taken, and with him the false prophet that wrought miracles before him, with which he deceived them that had received the mark of the beast, and them that worshipped his image. These both were cast into a lake of fire burning with brimstone. And the remnant were slain with the sword of him that sat upon the horse, which sword proceeded out of his mouth: and all the fowls were filled with their flesh."

The beast, and his ten kings, are here attended to the war by the false prophet, whose identity with the Pope is well given in the words, "he wrought miracles before him," taken from the xiii th chapter; and the words, "with which he deceived them that had received the mark of the beast, and them that worshipped his image." And perhaps the original fact from which the symbol is taken, is the fact of the false prophet withstanding Moses, before Pharoah king of Egypt, who is the first of mankind denominated the beast, the dragon in the waters. Now the Pope, who during the forty-and-two months is denoted by the little horn, in Daniel, and by the

beast from the earth, with horns like a Lamb, and speech like a dragon, in the xiii th of the Apocalypse, is first denominated false prophet under the sixth vial, which is co-eval with the Euphrates or Turkish judgment, at this present time proceeding; and here in the catastrophe he hath the same denomination. Wherefore, it may be asked, is this new name? My opinion is, that he is to play a new part, and that he has already begun to play that part, to wit, the part of plying unto the spirit of the times; of becoming the great prophet of liberality, whereof we Protestants must ever be the opponents; and, playingthis deep game, I doubt not he may become a prime favourite of the liberals of Europe, and so get the wind out of the sails of us illiberal Protestants, and make us to become as much the scorn, as he shall become the delight of the enlightened world: and so the seed will ripen the faster, and the harvest be the sooner ready; the way of the beast be prepared, yea, and the Pope himself become his forerunner. For, how otherwise should we find him gathering the nations to this great battle, and here proceeding to it in company with the beast? I do not say but that, when he discovers that the beast will not suffer him to sit any more upon him, and begins to be restive and unruly, and to shew signs of seeking the supremacy, then the Pope will make a rally for himself, and so excite against himself that hostility of the beast and of the kings which destroyeth for ever the wealth, resources, and power of his superstition. But, as a former Pope did to Napoleon, he will see it a wiser thing to play a second part, than no part at all: and so, cunningly plying to the

times, he will become false prophet unto this marvellous leader of the confederacy, more generous than Charlemagne, more mighty than Napoleon, to whom former Popes became subservient; and, taking a lead in the grand demonstration against the Lamb, he will receive with the beast the pre-eminent distinction, in the judgment, of being taken alive, and cast quick into the lake of fire which burneth with brimstone. What this judgment of a living death, and yet not a death—what this judgment of an undying torment may mean, I cannot well say; but I do well believe that it is something very different from mere man-slaughter, which is reserved for the judgment of the less offending kings, else why would the distinction be taken? There is a great distinction between being taken alive in a battle, and being slain. There is a great distinction between being cast alive into a lake of fire, burning with brimstone, and having your flesh given to the fowls of heaven. —And what then is this distinction? So far as I know it, I will not shrink from teaching it.

I find the reality of this symbol in different parts of Scripture. First, in the punishment of Korah and his company, upon whom the earth opened her mouth, and they went down quick into the pit. Now it is well worthy of observation, that this conspiracy of Korah and his company, consisted of rebellion against Moses and Aaron, on the part of Korah, a son of Levi, and therefore of the priesthood, and Dathan and Abiram, sons of Reuben the firstborn, and king by right, though God had in his sovereignty appointed it otherwise. So here we have a combi-

nation of a false prophet usurping the headship of the church, and a false king usurping the headship of the nations, against the Lamb who is King of kings and Lord of lords, at once the Moses and the Aaron of the world. And as Korah and his company went down quick into the pit, while others less offending were only slain; so in the symbol, the beast and the false prophet go down quick, while the others are only slain. The symbol hath also a reality in the Psalms (lviii. 9), where, speaking to the great congregation of the wicked gathered against Christ and his church, He saith, "Before your pots can feel the thorns, he shall take them away as with a whirlwind, both *living*, and in his wrath. The righteous shall rejoice when he seeth the vengeance: he shall wash his feet in the blood of the wicked. So that a man shall say, Verily there is a reward for the righteous: verily he is a God that judgeth in the earth." And I doubt not that there be many other grounds of reality upon which this symbol resteth, but that which is the most remarkable, is the conclusion of Isaiah the prophet, where, after setting forth the blessedness of the new heavens and the new earth and the new Jerusalem, and, in one word, the new world of the Millennium, that prophet solemnly shutteth up and sealeth his testimony with these mysterious words: "And it shall come to pass, that from one new moon to another, and from one sabbath to another, shall all flesh come to worship before me, saith the Lord. And they shall go forth, and look upon the carcases of the men that have trangressed against me; for their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire

be quenched; and they shall be an abhorring unto all flesh." Now this passage is frequently used by our Lord in connexion with the lake of fire; and therefore we may not doubt for a moment, that it is the reality upon which the symbol before us must be explained. It is further to be observed, for the clearing of this deep matter, that, at the end of the Millennium, the devil also being taken is cast into the lake of fire and brimstone,—where the beast and the false prophet are,—and shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever. And into the same lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death, are all those cast, who, after the last judgment, were not found written in the book of life. Now with these materials, let any one make the best resolution he can, of the mystery, that the beast and the false prophet are cast thereinto, anterior to the Millennium, and do swim and swelter therein under the eyes of men during the Millennium, being, as Isaiah saith, "an abhorring unto all flesh."

But we have not yet all the elements of the question before us. What is meant by the beast and the false prophet, in contradistinction to the kings of the earth and their armies? We have seen that the beast is a person, even the Infidel head of Rome, that is to arise; and we have likewise seen that the false prophet is a person, even the Pope, turned prophet of Infidelity. Doth it mean then, that these two persons alone are taken alive, and diversely dealt with from the rest. This exposition would not be in keeping, either with the realities of Korah's company,—which included not the men, but likewise all that appertained to them,

their wives, their sons, and their little children; —nor would it be in keeping with the reality in Isaiah, which seemeth to include more than two men: "The carcases of the men that have transgressed against me." We therefore are inclined to believe, that by the beast is meant the Infidel head and all his staff, both diplomatic and military,—his secretaries, who are in the secret of his grand purpose, of God-defying and Christ-defeating, and are mainly aiding and abetting thereto. Such a staff of marshals and princes as Napoleon gathered around him; like the paladins of Charlemagne, or the fabled knights of king Arthur. And likewise deem I of the false prophet, that he representeth not the single person of the Pope, but likewise the chief ministers of his accursed policy, whereby he hath deluded the men that have the mark of the beast, to muster in this the last of Roman fields. These fat ones, bulls of Bashan, prime princes of infidelity, prime princes of apostacy, are the persons whom I take to be represented by the name "beast" and "false prophet."

And now, what think I of their doom? I think it is to have their lives prolonged in an endless misery. To be truly and literally exhibited in fiery torment during the Millennium: to stand before the nations, the prelude of hell, as new Jerusalem standeth before the nations, the prelude of heaven, during the millennial times. I cannot tell—I will not be positive—but I must explain my text; and I say again, to me no explanation will serve, but that they should not be slain like others, nor raised like others, nor judged like others, but preserved quick, alive, yet in such sort changed in

the fabric of their bodies, as that they shall be able to endure the infinitely severe and infinitely prolonged pains of hell; monuments of God's severity throughout the millennial age. Giants in wickedness, to undertake war against the Lamb, in them shall be realized the ancient fable of the giants who rose in arms against Jove, and were only overcome by heaving amain, and hurling upon their huge stature, the vast mountains; Etna, amongst others, which, they fable, doth ever, as they stir their never-dying bodies, vent forth their lava streams of fire and brimstone. And thus will God's power be shewn prospectively; that power which is to be shewn forth at the end of the Millennium upon all the wicked; his power to give fire-proof bodies to wicked men, will be substantiated by an act anterior to the Millennium; even as his power to give eternally blessed bodies to the righteous will be substantiated at the beginning of the Millennium, by the change of his saints into that glory which the new Jerusalem shall contain. These two acts, of changing the saints who are alive at his coming into the glory of the new Jerusalem, and of changing the giant sons of wickedness into the very condition of the damned, and exhibiting them, fixed for ever in fiery misery, will stand during the Millennium as the two great historical facts, upon which, as two pivots, I believe the whole frame-work of the jurisdiction of the millennial age will be supported: as it were the two guarantees of God's faithfulness to his word. Unto my mind, reflecting often upon, and searching deeply into, the mystery of the Millennium, not by man's wisdom,—and, least of all, by my own under-

standing, which is utter foolishness,—but by the word of the Lord and the help of his Spirit, it hath been brought many times, that the rewards and punishments of the millenarian people, who have no devil in them, nor devil in the outward world to tempt them, will be translation into the new Jerusalem by a change like that which passeth on the quick at the Lord's appearing; or translation into the lake of fire, like that which passeth upon the beast and false prophet in the battle of Armageddon. Be this as it may, for I give it forth rather as a persuasion, than as a belief; as a thing to be inquired into, rather than as a thing searched out; as matter for exposition of the thing before us, rather than as a regularly argued point; —be this, I say, as it may, the thing is certain, that the beast and the false prophet were cast alive into a lake of fire, burning with brimstone.

But for the remnant, they were slain with the sword of Him that sat upon the horse; which sword proceeded out of his mouth, and is given to him for smiting the nations withal. Now because it proceeded out of his mouth, I believe it to be his word, quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword; and because it is said so in a thousand ways, I believe it to be the word of his wrath, and not the word of his mercy,—the word of his judgment, and not the word of his Gospel. And him that will say the contrary, be he ever so humane and tender-hearted, I will condemn for his want of faith and discernment, both in the word and in the ways of God. For if language most strong, most redundant, most various, most heaped up in its expressions, can signify

wrath, slaughter, and destruction; and if a crime can deserve such instant destruction, then that language and that crime is before us. Therefore I say again, it doth much more offend my faith, than please my feeling, when I hear beloved brethren unsay the seven times, the seven times seven said word of God, that this sword goeth forth for destruction, and not for salvation. I am an orthodox man, and I believe in hell; and, believing the greatest, I will not shrink from believing the great judgments of God. It is therefore beyond the shadow of a doubt, my most assured faith, that the sword thus proceeding from the mouth of him that sat upon the horse, to slay the remnant and give their flesh unto the fowls of heaven, is the word which spake the deluge from the waters above the firmament, and from the waters beneath the firmament, opening the windows of heaven, and breaking up the fountains of the great deep. The word it is, which showered fire and brimstone upon the cities of the plain; the word which went forth upon Pharaoh and his host, and they sank like lead in the mighty waters; the word which, on the day of provocation in the wilderness, went forth against a whole generation of his own people, and slew them all, save Caleb and Joshua. The word which went forth against Korah and his company; the word which went forth against the kings of Canaan, and hail-stones from heaven slew them; against Sennacherib, and the angel of the Lord slew them; against Jerusalem, and it fell in a sea of fire and blood; against France, and the tenth part of the city fell by infidel revolution; against Papal Europe, and a vile person

oppressed it; against Great Britain, and it embraced the Papacy; and which shall go forth once more against the kings of the earth, in embattled field to make war with the Lamb: and they shall be consumed with death, and the fowls of heaven be filled with their flesh. And such is the end and issue of the fourth beast, with his head and his horns and all his iniquitous body.

There is one other passage, in the book of Revelation, which casteth light upon the end of the fourth beast; and, because it hath reference to the territorial bounds, rather than to the persons, I deem it good, before concluding this discourse of judgment, to open it a little. It is contained in ch. xvi., and forms the substance of the seventh or last and consummating vial, of the wrath of God. These vials, it must be observed, contain the judgments of God upon the Papacy, beginning immediately at the close of the "time, times, and half," and extending onwards until the time of the end; of which vials the first falleth generally upon the men who have the mark of the beast, with a universal sore, indicative of a dissolution in the crasis of its body. The second, falls upon France, the turbulent sea of infidelity; the third, upon Italy, the fountain and river of Papal doctrines; the fourth, upon the sun, the head and prince of the political system, the infidel beast under his first form, when, as emperor of the French, he oppressed Europe: but the fifth falleth upon his own seat or throne, when he was suppressed, and his kingdom brought into bondage for a season; and the sixth falleth upon the Euphrates, or Turkish power, while it excites

in the west all the spirits of evil, to prepare the world for the great battle of Armageddon, which is the battle we have been already describing; and then the seventh is poured out into the air, and brings with it an earthquake so violent and so great as never was felt upon the earth. This earthquake is a popular revolution extending itself far and wide over the world, and producing infinite changes, whereof some are enumerated. First, the great city was divided into three parts; that is, the great city of Babylon, or the Papacy, fell asunder into three divisions, of what kind we know not, and have no means to determine, save that it is not unlikely to be that convulsion which bringeth the Papacy into such hatred amongst the nations, and bringeth unto the head of the nations such kings as shall accomplish the wrath of God against Babylon. For while it is said, that the cities of the nations fell, by which we may understand some great revolution in the kingdoms; and perhaps this very revolution which makes them, from being favourable, to become hostile to the Papacy; it is added, that "great Babylon came in remembrance before God, to give unto her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of his wrath," which we know doth signify the subversion of the Papacy. Here, then, we may find some light cast upon that wonderful revolution in sentiment towards Babylon, which we have noticed above. First, there is an earthquake, which, if we take its interpretation from the earthquake of the sixth seal, which was the French Revolution, must signify some great convulsion over the bounds of the Roman Empire. This convulsion divides the great city, or Papacy, into three parts: whether

these may not be the three companies gathered by the three spirits like frogs, the three great factions, of the dragon, of the beast, and of the false prophet, I cannot say; but so it is; in some way or other, Babylon the great city, is split asunder into three parts. Then the cities of the nations fell: but what this is, I cannot say. If it be understood of nations beyond the Roman earth, then it is great and fearful convulsions: but if it be cities within the Roman earth, then it means some convulsion in their governments, produced by the great revolution or earthquake. Perhaps the whole may be intended to denote a general breaking up of society into three factions, under the influence of whose contentions the fabric of government and religion is subverted, and a new order of things prepared, for consummating the great judgment upon the mystical Babylon. I mean to say, that to my mind, the earthquake, the dividing of the city into three parts, and the falling of the cities of the nations, these events do put things out of their present condition, into that condition which is necessary for the subversion and suppression of the Papacy: and it shews what we hinted above, that it is not without terrible convulsions, that the beast cometh up out of the bottomless pit, and that the kings are brought to be of one mind, to hate the whore, and give their power unto the beast. Perhaps there may be some connexion between the sublime images, coming out of the bottomless pit, and an earthquake. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the natural philosophy of earthquakes, to say positively, but I rather believe, that, according to the best accounts, they are thought to be caused by

some collection of explosive matter, within the bowels of the earth, there working convulsion until it findeth some escape, and the ruins of the earthquake take place where it finds its vent. Now, perhaps, as there are two earthquakes, and two ascendings of the beast from the bottomless pit, there may be a connexion between these two symbols; and that, as in the former earthquake of the French Revolution, several vials of wrath were felt before the beast took form under Napoleon, so, when this second earthquake of the seventh vial takes effect, which I look for daily, it will not merely bring down a tenth part of the city, like the Revolution in France, but will split the city, the whole city,—that is, the whole ten kingdoms,—and sever it into three parts, and bring down the cities of the nations before the beast from the bottomless pit finds a fair and complete outlet, and hath the world prepared for his reception. And thus much light is cast upon the former parts of our discourse, by the particulars of the seventh vial.—Upon the doom of Babylon which comes next, we have nothing to add to what we have said above. Then follows the effect of the earthquake, of the dividing of the great city, the falling of the cities of the nations, and the judgment of Babylon: "Every island fled away, and the mountains were not found." The old passeth, that the new earth may come; the establishments of nature, her fixtures, her rocks, her mountains which she deemed everlasting, pass away like a scroll, and are like a vesture changed. This is the reality of future events upon which the symbol resteth. But the symbol is used to signify the subversion of all those political powers and dignities,

through whose combined efforts Babylon is put down. It signifies, as I take it, the destruction of the kings and of the beast himself, in his war with the Lamb, and the consequent confusion which ensues throughout all the kingdoms of the Papal earth. And what follows? one thing more, which has not been mentioned in the other acts of judgment. "There fell upon men a great hail out of heaven, every stone about the weight of a talent; and men blasphemed God because of the plague of the hail, for the plague thereof was exceeding great."

This symbol has its foundation of reality, in the hail-stones which God showered upon the armies of the kings who opposed Joshua. And in many of the prophecies of Isaiah, xxxii. 19, xxxviii. 2, it is distinctly referred to as a great event in the future dealings of God in the earth. And in this book of the Apocalypse likewise, there are allusions to it, as in xi. 19; and here it is given at large. What it will be in the letter, and for what end, I am not called upon to say; but what it is in the symbol, we have a slight instance of in the first trumpet (viii. 7), which refers, as we judge, to the first northern invasion which fell in upon the Roman empire by the Goths, a little before the time of Alaric. But here it is every hail-stone like a talent, which falls upon men to oppress them, but does not slay them; signifying, as I conceive, that when with these convulsions, Papal Europe hath been brought into utter prostration, and its power levelled to the dust, the great Northern power shall make an easy prey of it, and shall come down on it with a heavy thraldom, until the time comes for his own judgment; and so doth prophecy fortel that which

hath been the fear of wise men and statesmen for half a century, that the south of Europe shall once more be overrun by the semi-barbarians of the North.

Such, then, is the substance of the judgment of the fourth beast, and of the little horn, realizing to the utmost the sublime imagery of the prophet Daniel; and bringing out the two distinct parts, in the action of judgment, which we thought to be implied in the words of that prophet. The first part of the judgment is past: the second part is about to come. It consisteth of several particulars:—First, a great popular revolution, revealing three great factions, or divisions, or schisms in the Papal city or dominion, and bringing down other cities or dominions. Secondly, the rising up of the last, the eighth head of Rome, which is also of the seven; and with him ten kings, disposed to do whatever his pleasure is. Thirdly, their combination under him, to destroy and root out the Papacy; wherein they entirely succeed. Fourthly, their combination under him to go forth and fight against the Lamb, in some most anti-Christian way, which cannot be at present understood, though it may be shrewdly conjectured at; in which undertaking they come to utter ruin and destruction. Whereupon, fifthly, whilst Papal Europe is thus emptied of all its chivalry, and prostrated in all its strength, the great Northern power makes an easy prey of it, and with a most heavy hand, direfully oppresses it. Such are the results of our inquiries at the light of Divine revelation, concerning the judgment of the fourth beast.

DISCOURSE X.

THE KINGDOM OF THE SON OF MAN.

DANIEL vii. 13, 14, 18, 22, 27.

I saw in the night visions, and, behold, one like the son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.....The saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever.....The Ancient of days came, and judgment was given to the saints of the Most High; and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom.....And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High; whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him.

THE unity of subject in our former discourse prevented us from treating of the doom or judgment which is pronounced upon the first three beasts, as the same is recorded in verse 12: "As concerning the rest of the beasts, they had their dominion taken away, yet their lives were prolonged for a season and time." Which words to interpret aright, we must give good heed to what

is said in verse 23 concerning the action of the fourth beast towards its three predecessors; where it is said, "it shall devour the whole earth, and tread it down, and break it in pieces:" and if the whole earth, then his three predecessors, who were upon the earth. Yet is not this such an action as to destroy their being; for they have prolonging of life given to them, even after the fourth beast is given to the burning flame; but their dominion is taken away. Now, I have always felt myself at a loss to understand this action, and the time of it; whether it be a reflection upon their successive raising up and putting down, and hath a reference to the time at which they fell, one after another; or whether it refer to an action done upon them at the time of the judgment in preparation for the coming of the Son of Man. And though once I inclined to the former, I do now rather incline to the latter opinion; 1st, Because the beasts are represented as rising in succession, one after the other; and the fourth is said to be diverse from all the beasts that were before it: which fact being clearly expressed already, I think it the less likely that the verse before us should have reference thereto. 2dly, It occurs in the act of judgment, and ought therefore to be interpreted as a part of the judgment, if such an interpretation will consist with the context. 3dly, It stands immediately before the giving of the dominion unto the Son of Man, and seems a necessary preparation for that act, being the taking away of their dominion; and for this reason it seems to me to be introduced, to make a clear riddance out of the earth of all dominion, that the universal do-

minion might be given to the Son of Man. On these accounts, and particularly the last, I prefer to consider it as an act of judgment upon them, not of the same severity, but to the extent of removing their dominion, without putting them to death.

This interpretation doth necessarily require, that during the judgment, or before the close of the judgment, they should have a dominion, an independent sovereignty and dominion; for how, otherwise, in the judgment could it be taken away. Now, how standeth the fact? In the interpretation of these beasts we found that it was necessary, not for the propping up of an hypothesis, but for meeting the conditions of the prophecy, that they should not be interpreted with exact logical precision, but with a certain cautious sagacity and sound judgment, according to the revelation. And I may observe here, that nothing, no, not even speculative fancy, hath more beguiled prophetic interpreters, than logical precision and dialectic acumen and ingenious disquisition. An interpreter of prophecy must have faith, and a single eye to the truth of God's word. He must be of a plastic mind, which will submit to be moulded by God's very word. For example: when I see the great beasts called four kings, which shall arise out of the earth, I must believe that they are kings, persons; but when I see that the fourth is likewise called a kingdom, and that he is diverse from all kingdoms, and that there are in him ten kings, and an eleventh; who subdues three of these, then I must sacrifice the definiteness of my first impression, and say, that this

fourth is a kingdom, and not a person; a system of kingdoms, and not a single kingdom. And must I now reject the first revelation, that they were four kings, when I have come to this further light? Certainly not. I must keep both; and believe that, if something had not been intended by both, one only would have been given by the Spirit. Again: with respect to the period "time, times, and the dividing of time," though at first sight I might be inclined to interpret it three literal years and a half, and be confirmed herein by the seven times of Nebuchadnezzar's vision; yet when I come to examine further into this matter, and to see that this fourth beast is to arise after the three preceding, and to fill up the interval between the last of them and the judgment; and when I perceive and know that the former three have departed from the earth, as dominant and ascendant powers, for thousands of years, and that the judgment is not yet come; I am compelled to alter my former opinion, and seek to make it more consistent with the substance of the prophecy. For if this action of the beast under his ten horns and little horn be only for three years and a half at the end of two thousand, it seems a thing most unreasonable indeed, that he should be judged for these three years and a half so severely, that they should come out so prominently over, and to the exclusion of, the thousands of years during which he acted before. Moreover, upon looking more distinctly into the language it appears to be spoken of a long period: for this little horn is to subdue three kings; then he is to get the dominion over the rest of the ten; then he is to arrogate to him-

self a Divine authority over them, and speak words to them; which they are to obey, and so bring down upon themselves swift destruction. Again, he is to "wear out the saints of the Most High;" and, "he is to think to change times and laws." And that all this is to be done within three years and a half, does press upon me another interpretation than the literal one, if it be consistent with the use of prophecy. And when, in the Apocalypse, I do find this very period, not in the interpretation but in the symbolical parts of three several visions, where every thing is symbolical, I am strengthened in the idea that this is symbolical also. And when I find in another symbolical vision—to wit, the ivth of Ezekiel—that a day is the symbol of a year, I am forced to try the interpretation of 1260 years; and if I find it to consist with the facts of the prophecy, to take it and use it, as I have done above. Besides this, the only other place where this period occurs, in the prophecy of Daniel, I find that along with it is given one period of 1290, and another of 1335 days. They are given as additional epochs, for determining the march and the conclusion of a great series and order of events, in which the Jewish people and all nations are interested. Now, as natural good sense doth declare that an interval of thirty, and another of forty-five days, can never determine, in prophetic anticipation, revolutions and conclusions of great events, it becomes absolutely necessary to interpret, in this only other place where the "time, times, and half a time" are mentioned, the day, of a year; and the 1260 days, of 1260 years. And thus it is, I say, that

nothing is more fatal to interpretation of prophecy than that nicety and subtilty of mind, that turn for acute distinctions and controversial questions, which is so much the characteristic of this time. I have endeavoured, in these discourses, to give an example of the very contrary. I have sought to submit my mind to the teaching of my text; to mould and to modify my understanding according to the testimony of God.

And now, perceiving that these three beasts are still by the Prophet looked upon as alive, and as having been alive during all the period from their first origination until now, I am fain to consider, with Sir Isaac Newton, that not only the personal kings and their dynasties, which have been overthrown and passed away, but the territorial limits, and the names, which still remain, are to be considered as included under the symbol of beasts. Let us observe, then, how the fact standeth with respect to the Babylonian, Persian, and Greek kingdoms.—The Babylonian, or Assyrian, kingdom was the kingdom of the Euphrates, upon the branches of which stood Nineveh and Babylon: it hath this designation given to it in the viiith chapter of Isaiah. Now when the Ottoman, or Turkish, power is raised up by the blast of the sixth Apocalyptic trumpet, it is said, "Loose the four angels which are bound in the great river Euphrates." Here a power is represented as having been alive, but bound upon the Euphrates. The Turks are not set forth as a new power, but as an old one, lying bound upon the Euphrates; and, therefore, I think it is conveyed to us, that they represent the old Assyrian or Babylonian power, which by

the Persians had been suppressed, but not destroyed. I am not able to go into the history of the Turks, or Othmans; nor, I believe, has any historian attempted the research; so as to prove or to disprove whether they be of the Assyrian stock. They are a people whose origin is not known, and therefore nothing can be set forth against the interpretation that they are the Assyrian power revived.—With respect, next, to the Persians: it is well known, that in the time of Alexander's successors of the Syrian kingdom the Parthians revolted; and in process of time so far prevailed, as to wrest out of the hands of the Greek kings the distant region of Persia, over which the Romans did at no time make any conquest; and this Persian kingdom began to make itself to be felt both lively and powerful in the reign of Justinian.—Now the Greek kingdom continued under the dominion of the Romans, yet without the loss of its language or its name, until the Roman kingdom separated into two parts, Eastern and Western; and the church into two parts, Latin and Greek. Then the Greek kingdom took a substantive existence again; and though by historians, until the conquest of the Turks, it continues to be regarded as the Roman empire, yet for seven centuries and more had the Latin part of the empire been organized under another, both temporal and spiritual, head. By the conquest of the Turks the Greek empire was suppressed. But it hath arisen again in these our times: indeed, I may say that the one great action of Divine Providence, which hath filled up the interval since the casting down of the infidel head,

hath been the restoration and revival of the Greek kingdom.

And thus have we, in the several territorial limits of the Assyrian, Persian, and Greek kingdoms, three powers; political, organized, independent powers; in one word, beasts still alive and active. At this very time, when the judgment is sitting, the four beasts that are to be judged are all in active and independent existence, ready to receive the sentence of the Ancient of Days. The whole image of Nebuchadnezzar is in being; its head of gold, its arms and breast of silver, its belly and thighs of brass, its legs and feet of iron and of iron mixed with clay, are all in existence, ready to receive the stroke of the Stone cut out without hands. And as that blow of wrath first smiteth the image upon his feet, that were of iron and of clay, and breaketh them to pieces; and, this being done, then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold, broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer threshing-floor, and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them: even so, upon the ten kingdoms, answerable to the ten toes, doth the judgment of the Ancient of Days first alight, for their obedience of the little horn; and that beast with ten horns is utterly consumed with fiery vengeance. Then, as to the other beasts, the judgment is, that their dominion shall be taken away, but their lives prolonged for a season and time: by which I understand, that they shall come again into subjection of some stronger power, under which they shall yet preserve their life, and

not be broken from being a people. This however is not to be for ever, but "for a season and time." The kingdom of the Son of man, which follows, is to be for ever; and, when once set up, we may, yea, we must, believe that it is a kingdom of power and peace which fills the whole earth; being the kingdom of the little stone waxed into a great mountain, so as to fill the whole earth: and before this time, therefore, we are to believe that all vestiges of the four preceding kingdoms shall be destroyed. The clay, and the iron, and the brass, and the silver, and the gold, shall be broken in pieces, as the dust of the summer threshing-floors, and carried away with the wind, before the kingdom of the stone of Israel be established. Upon these principles we conclude that the prolongation of life, which is given unto the four beasts for a season and time, is only until the kingdom of the Son of Man shall be established; after which, he with his saints, shall possess the kingdom under the whole heaven, for ever and ever. There is therefore an interval, between the total destruction of the fourth kingdom and the setting up of the fifth kingdom, during which the first three kingdoms shall be without dominion, but still in life. Now, if any one ask me, how long this is to be? I will say, Certainly not long; because, both in this vision and Nebuchadnezzar's dream, it is recounted as a part of the judgment; and, when judgment begins, there is no long delay of mercy and grace. The judgment requireth a season and time for its accomplishment, in order that discrimination may be made amongst offenders, and likewise in order

that during the judgment repentance and the learning of wisdom may be permitted unto all. The last beast, as being the most huge offender, is judged to instant destruction; the others are judged to loss of dominion, not loss of life.

If any one inquire concerning the manner in which the lives of the rest of the beasts will be taken away, I can give him some insight into that matter, from the prophecy of Ezekiel concerning Gog, chapters xxxviii. and xxxix. This Gog leadeth up a great confederacy against the children of Israel, when settled in their own land, and is, with all his confederate bands, destroyed upon the mountains of Israel. In this confederacy are found, amongst others, Persia: xxxviii. 5, "Togarmah of the north quarters;" which, according to Calmet and other learned geographers, means the provinces to the north of Mesopotamia, and even Chaldea, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Babylon. Likewise, "Gomer, and all his bands," and "Magog;" which two, by common consent of historians, were the people planted upon the confines of Europe and of Asia, from whom also the Germans and the Cimbri and the Celts are alike derived. It is hard to know from whom the Greeks were originally derived, but if they be not included with "Gomer and all his bands," then must they be included in that general summation at the end of the enumeration, "and many people with thee." Now this Gog, who brings with him the confederacy of all the nations, is not by us to be mistaken, who can add to the lights of ancient geography, which our fathers have left us, the observation of God's pro-

vidence, which is shewing forth Gog's great ascendant power in the sight of the whole world. The land of Magog is generally, and indeed beyond doubt, fixed to be the land beyond Mount Caucasus; all which, without exception, is now possessed by the Emperor of the North. And from Gog, it is believed by the learned that the very name of Caucasus (*Gogasus*), as also the name of Georgia, or Gordia, in that same district, is derived. Also, from Magog they reckon that the Mœotic lake, or Sea of Asoph, hath its name. Gog is called the prince of Ross, Meshech, and Tubal. The Moscovites are believed, by common consent, to be the people of Meshech, and with them the people of Tubal are constantly joined. They are both thought to have settled at the heads of the Euphrates and the Tigris, between the Euxine and the Caspian seas; and from thence to have sent up colonies to people the north; of which it is believed that the Tobolski are one. Now the river Araxes, which runs through that region, was anciently, and is still by the Arabians, called Ross: so that Ross, Meshech, and Tubal, which compose the princedom of Gog, doth take in the region from the mouth of the Volga to the mouth of the Don; from which region there can be no doubt that the peoples called the Rossi or Russians, the Mosci or Muscovites, and the Tobolski, have proceeded, and all those northern countries have been peopled. And, as if they were claiming their ancient seats, we have seen the united empire of Ross, Meshech, and Tubal, labouring for the last fifty years to establish themselves between the Caspian and the Black Sea,

which they have at last firmly obtained for a possession. Well, then, forasmuch as I perceive that in the train of Gog march all the relics of nations, and amongst them the Assyrians, Persians, and Greeks, my belief is, that by him—even the present Emperor of all the Russians—is the Persian kingdom, the Turkish kingdom, and the Greek kingdom to be brought into subjection and made tributary; and in this way shall their dominion be taken away, but their lives prolonged. And how long prolonged? prolonged until the fall of Gog. And when is this? soon after the children of Israel are settled in their own land; while they are dwelling securely in unwalled villages. That the children of Israel are to be gathered into their own land before the thirty and the forty-five years additional to the 1260 be accomplished, is manifest from the last vision of Daniel the prophet, where the fall of the head of the Latin kings, the proud leader of the infidel confederacy, the last head of the Roman beast, is given as the signal for Michael's standing up to deliver the Jewish people (Dan. xi. 45; xii. 1). There is, therefore, no interval between the destruction of the fourth beast and the redemption of Israel: when Babylon is broken up, the captives go out free. But while the children of Israel are gathering into their own land, and for some time after they are settled therein, the prolongation of life is given to the three beasts; the head of the Greek church is consolidating his mighty power; and Israel restored are by their wickedness preparing for being sifted and winnowed like the chaff: according as it is written in

all the prophets shall be done unto them after their restoration: Zech. xiii. 8, "And it shall come to pass, that in all the land, saith the Lord, two parts therein shall be cut off and die; but the third shall be left therein: and I will bring the third part through the fire, and will refine them as silver is refined, and will try them as gold is tried: they shall call on my name, and I will hear them; I will say, It is my people; and they shall say, The Lord is my God." Then followeth in the prophet the last great controversy between Gog and the Jewish people, which also is described most gloriously in the ixth chapter, of which these words are the key: "When I have bent Judah for me, and filled the bow with Ephraim, and raised up thy sons, O Zion, against thy sons, O Greece, and made thee as the sword of a mighty man" (ver. 13). Then it is that Gog and all his bands are to perish utterly; and then it is that the shaking of the heavens and the earth take place; and then it is that Messiah in person appeareth; and then it is that Daniel standeth in his lot; and then it is that the time of blessedness arriveth. Ezek. xxxix. 28: "Then shall they know that I am the Lord their God, which caused them to be led into captivity among the heathen; but I have gathered them into their own land, and have left none of them any more there: neither will I hide my face any more from them; for I have poured out my Spirit upon the house of Israel, saith the Lord God."

So much for the judgment upon the rest of the beasts, which I believe will be consummated within the thirty and forty-five years; that is, within

seventy-five years from the conclusion of the 1260, which I have argued was concluded in the year 1792: to which number the adding of seventy-five brings us down to the year 1867; when I believe the judgment upon all the four beasts shall have been concluded, and the lives of all of them taken away; and the whole substance of the image reduced to powder, and scattered abroad by the winds of heaven, and no place found for the kingdoms any more.

Having thus opened the four kingdoms, into whose hands the saints in succession were given, and especially that fourth, whose tedious and cruel oppression of them maketh that of all the rest to sink into insignificance; and having likewise opened the scene of judgment which is done upon them by the Ancient of Days, preparatory to the coming of the Son of Man in his kingdom; we now proceed to the third great scene of this dramatic vision, which is the kingdom itself, thus introduced to us in the text: "I saw in the night visions, and, behold, one like the Son of Man came in the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of Days, and they brought him near before him: and there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed." Whereof the interpretation is given in these words; "And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of

the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him." Such is the text of my discourse, in the opening of which we earnestly entreat the help of the Holy Ghost.

First of all, then, we observe from the vision itself, that though the three preceding kingdoms are emblematically described by beasts, they are real substantial things which are thereby represented,—forms of government having a brutal character, and working together the ends of violence and of oppression. Moreover, that, though the judgment be likewise emblematically described, it is a real substantial state of things, wherein dissolution and consumption and all manner of destruction are brought by the hand of God upon the relics of these four kingdoms. And, therefore, seeing that every former part of the vision happeneth upon the earth, and hath been realized in a state of human government, we ought never to doubt, upon all principles of sound interpretation, that this fifth kingdom shall likewise be realized on the earth, in a state of society diverse from those which preceded it, even as the Son of Man is diverse from a lion, a bear, a leopard, and that fourth anomalous and monstrous beast. Of this there can be no doubt: any man who would transfer this fifth kingdom out of the earth into the heavens; any one who would spiritualize it away into a church, having neither power nor government; must be left to his folly, and blamed for his daring perversion of the oracles of God. That it is a state of the world, in which all power acknowledgeth the headship of

the Son of Man, and in which, under him, the saints of the Most High (heretofore oppressed) possess the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, I will not spend an instant of precious time to establish. But, whether the Son of Man be personally present upon the earth during this everlasting kingdom, or be only exercising an invisible controul over all its administration, is a point which may admit of more question, and ought to be treated with great respect. I know, indeed, that a Jew, who is accustomed to interpret the Scriptures literally, as they ought to be interpreted, would have no difficulty in this matter: he would say at once, 'The coming of Messiah is the great end of all the prophecies; and it is not possible that we should have here a prophecy containing God's dealings with his church upon earth for ever, and not have in it, somewhere, particular mention of Him who is the head and ruler, the end and object of the church. And seeing He is here mentioned as "coming in the clouds of heaven," and receiving investiture in the earth—receiving the "heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession"—we may not doubt, it were worse than folly to doubt, that this is his very coming in his kingdom which we have been long taught to expect; for if this be not his coming, it is not here at all. And why would you doubt that it is his coming, when it is so distinctly declared to be so?' But a Christian, accustomed to look upon prophecy with a more spiritual eye, would make answer to the

Jew in this manner: 'This Ancient of Days, who planteth his throne upon the earth at the judgment of the fourth beast, is not a visible person, but a symbolical way of representing the judgment of the Father upon those four kingdoms which oppressed his saints: may not, then, this "coming of the Son of Man" be in like manner only an emblematical representation of a new state of the world, wherein all things are righteously administered? For if you say that the Son of Man is a real corporeal person, what were the meaning of bringing such a one into the presence of the Ancient of Days, who is not a visible corporeal person?' To this difficulty, or rather to this mode of reasoning, it were difficult to give a satisfactory answer from the vision itself; and therefore, rather than indulge any ingenuity of our own, I turn to the New Testament, where the vision is oft referred to, in order to discover whether this coming of the Son of Man in the clouds be really that personal coming which we look for, or only a manifestation of his providence and an out-pouring of his Spirit.

The first passage which we refer to, is in Matt. xxiv. where, speaking to them of his coming, he saith, "If they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the desert, go not forth; behold, he is in the secret chambers, believe it not: for as the lightning cometh out of the east and shineth even unto the west, so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be." Now I ask any intelligent plain man, whether this be not language applicable unto a person personally present and visibly seen? Can

a Spirit reside in the desert? doth a providence dwell in the secret chambers? is a state of the church seen like "lightning coming out of the east and shining even unto the west?" If any one reply to these questions in the negative, and say, surely a person is here spoken of, then observe what immediately follows: "For wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together." This hath been, as I think, foolishly applied to the Roman standards gathering themselves against Jerusalem; whereas it is a figure taken from ordinary speech, a proverb, used to express the haste and certainty with which his people shall convene themselves to him in the day of his coming. That as in the Eastern countries, when any carcase falleth in the desert or the mountains, the eagles and vultures and other beasts of prey, by some instinct of sight and smell, concerning which we have hardly an idea, will appear at a far distance, like a speck in the distant horizon, and, directing their way straight up against the wind, will shew themselves a cloud of ravenous creatures, drawn, nobody knows from how far, to the very spot where the carcase lies; even so will the elect of God, in the day of Christ's coming, be endowed of God with a perfect faculty of finding out where he is, and coming directly and at once into his presence: so that they need not be anxious upon the subject of place, nor expose themselves to the deceptions of false Christs, saying, He is here, or, He is there. Then follow these words; "Immediately after the tribulation of those days shall the sun be dark-

ened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken;" which language I care not whether you interpret politically, of the kingdoms, and the stability and glory of them removed; or literally, of the changes of the heavens and the earth; or both, to which I rather incline: but observe the words which follow: "And then shall appear the sign of the Son of Man in heaven: and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn; and they shall see the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory." This language is, in itself, as much the language of real scene and real appearance, as it possibly could be made. I defy any person to choose words for expressing visible and personal appearance more unequivocally. There is, first, a sign of the Son of Man; it appears in the heaven; and the effect of its appearance is, that all the tribes of the earth mourn; and then they see the Son of Man coming in the clouds. Now, if the coming of the Son of Man be, as they say, but an enlargement of the church by preaching and otherwise, what, I ask, is the meaning of this sign of it, that appeareth in the heavens? and why should all nations mourn, when they behold the sign of the enlargement of the church? But, being taken in connection with the preceding verses, guarding them against false Christs, who should appear in the deserts and hide themselves in the secret chambers, it is such a mockery of all interpretation, such pure unmitigated folly, that we cannot for a moment away with it. And if

so distinctly the coming of the Son of Man in the clouds be here by the Lord personally applied, it is so also in Daniel, where alone this his coming in the clouds is mentioned.

The next passage in which our Lord taketh into his lips and applieth this same prophecy, is in the xxvith chapter of Matthew, where He saith unto the high priest, who had adjured him by the living God to tell them whether he was the Christ the Son of God, "Thou hast said"—that is, Yea, verily—"Nevertheless I say unto you, Hereafter shall ye see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven." Here a questioner, such as there be many in these times, might cavil at the word "ye," and say that it seemed to make as if the coming of Christ in the clouds was either to that generation before they died, or not till after their resurrection; but this is fond criticism, and easily answered by reference to our Lord's constant manner of discourse; wherein he speaketh of the Jewish nation in the persons as it were of that generation: for example, "Henceforth *your* house is left unto you desolate," and, "*Ye* shall not see me from henceforth, until *ye* shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." As in that place he referreth to a generation which hath not yet arisen, so here also doth he refer to that generation of the Jewish people which shall be upon the earth at the time of his second appearance; saying to the high priest, and those that sat in council with him, 'I am indeed the Christ the Son of God, all mean as I appear,

and scorned and scoffed and mocked and buffeted and spit on: nevertheless, Me, even Me, shall ye, your nation, your children, yet behold in that very majesty of which ye are so full, and with which ye are now deluding yourselves; even in the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory.' Now, why talk to them thus, if Daniel's coming in the clouds be not a real and personal appearance? Why this *nevertheless;* why this contrast between his present and his future appearance; if so be that future appearance is no appearance at all? A personal appearance, therefore, he here referreth to, if there be any meaning in language. And with respect to the question, whether it be before the Millennium or after the Millennium, that comes to be ascertained from Daniel's vision, to which the word "coming in the clouds" always carries us back. Now, in Daniel's vision he comes in the clouds unto the earth when the Ancient of Days had planted his judgment-seat and done judgment upon the fourth beast. The Son of Man comes not to judge the dead, in Daniel's vision; where there is no mention whatever of the dead, or the resurrection from the dead: he comes to receive a kingdom over the living, over all under the whole heaven: "There was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all peoples, nations, and languages should serve him;" and over this kingdom he ruleth with his saints. There is nothing here of judgment, except as government; there is nothing here of casting the wicked into hell, and taking the righteous away to heaven: it is simply a

universal kingdom that is given to him over all people, nations, and languages—that is all. And for judgment—that is, consuming, destroying judgment—he is too late to have any share therein, for it is all concluded before he arrives, by the Ancient of Days; who takes Christ's enemies out of the way, puts them under his foot, and then brings his only-begotten the second time into the world, that all the gods may worship him, that all the nations may serve him.

But, to return: the next time that the coming in the clouds is referred to, is in the first of Acts, where it is said, that "when he had spoken these things, while they beheld, he was taken up, and a cloud received him out of their sight; and while they looked stedfastly toward heaven as he went up, behold, two men stood by them in white apparel, which also said, Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven? This same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven." In what manner was that? As a spirit? No; as a living man. As an event of providence? No; as a person, the person of the God-man; And with what attendance? With the attendance of the cloud of heavenly glory;—fit throne for him who cometh in his bright majesty out of the region of the invisible, to rule the earth in righteousness and truth. The only other time in which the coming with clouds is mentioned, is in the first chapter of the Apocalypse: "Behold, he cometh with clouds; and every eye shall see him, and they also which pierced him; and all kindreds of

the earth shall wail because of him." This is not symbolical language, any more than that in the Acts. It might be said of the clouds in Daniel, that it was a symbolical way of representing dark and gloomy dispensations of Divine Providence, stormy and troublous commotions, in which he was to come: and to this I would have little objection, if it were only allowed me that he was to come at all: but, after permitting them their own will in the interpretation of the clouds, if I find there is to be nothing but these clouds, and no Son of Man coming with them, then have they lost the substance in the circumstance, the person in the drapery; and it ought to have been written, not "I saw the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven," but, "I saw the clouds of heaven coming." But, setting these fancies to a side, there is no room in the first of the Acts, when a cloud had actually intercepted the view of Christ, and received him within the foldings of its glory, to call the serene majesty thereof a gloomy dispensation of Divine Providence: it was a cloud in appearance, and to the sight of the men who looked: and if so, then in a cloud in appearance, and to the sight of men who look, shall he come again. So, also, in this passage from the Apocalypse is there no room left for cavil; "Behold, he cometh." Now, the Christian church was then looking for his coming, and so are we. This was written after the destruction of Jerusalem, and therefore that subterfuge is avoided. There is only one coming spoken of in the Apocalypse, which thus concludes: "He which testifieth these things saith,

Surely I come quickly. Amen: even so: come, Lord Jesus." Well, this coming, which certainly is not the destruction of Jerusalem that was past, and can be no other than that coming which all Christians till these days have expected, is declared to be with clouds—that is Daniel's very appearing of the Son of Man. "And every eye shall see him"—this is our Lord's very description of his own coming even like "the lightning, which cometh out of the east and shineth even unto the west. "And they also which pierced him"—that is, according to the Lord's own declaration made to the high priest, "Nevertheless ye shall see the Son of Man coming with the clouds, in great glory:" being also the language of Zechariah (xii. 10), "And I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the Spirit of grace and of supplications; and they shall look upon me, whom they have pierced; and they shall mourn for him, as one mourneth for his only son; and shall be in bitterness for him, as one that is in bitterness for his first-born." Furthermore, it is said in the passage from the Apocalypse, "All kindreds of the earth shall wail because of him," to signify, that, when he cometh with the clouds, after the judgment upon the fourth beast, there still remaineth some act of fearful indignation which shall attend upon his very appearance; and is, as I take it, that baptism with fire, which shall come upon the earth and upon the nations thereof, to make way for the kingdom of everlasting peace. And thus have we sought, not by speculation, but by interpretation of the New Testament, to ascertain whether this coming of the Son of

Man with the "clouds of heaven" be a personal coming or not; these four passages, the only ones in which reference is made to it, concurring and consenting together to a personal appearance, and consenting to no other.

Having thus ascertained that it is Christ in person who "cometh with the clouds of heaven," we have next to inquire what is meant by his coming to "the Ancient of Days." It is a symbolical way of representing the transference of power out of one hand unto another: "the Ancient of Days" being the Godhead standing in the person of the Father; "the Son of Man" being the same Godhead standing in the person of the Son, and limited within the bounds of manhood, in order, through manhood, to be revealed unto angels, and principalities, and powers, and every intelligent creature of God. When the Eternal Son forewent the plenitude of his Father's bosom, and became a man in action and in suffering, every advance from the form of a slave and a malefactor, which he had chosen to take, is continually represented in Scripture as a reward and preferment given unto him by the Father, purchased with the price of his blood; the consequence of his incarnation, the fruit of his obedience. Upon Him, therefore, who is "like the son of man"—though more than the son of man, yet in that likeness apparent—doth the Ancient of Days, for whom are all things and by whom are all things, bestow, as a reward of His obedience, and His perpetual inheritance, those dominions and kingdoms which by judgments manifold he had wrested from the ravages of the fourth beast. This symbol of derived dominion, of

conferred sovereignty, is expressed in these words, "They brought him near unto him:" that is, the thousand thousands who ministered unto the Ancient of Days, the ten thousand times ten thousand who stood before him, forsook their other offices to attend upon the Son of Man, and usher Him which is to come into the presence of the Eternal. "Ministering spirits, who wait upon those who shall be heirs of salvation," most meet it is ye should attend upon the great Son and Heir of all things, to bring him with due honour into the presence of the Everlasting Majesty of God: as it is written, "When the Son of Man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory;" and again, "Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousand of his saints;" and again, "When the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels;" and again, "When he bringeth in again the first-begotten into the world he saith, And let all the angels of God worship him." But remember the while, that it is but a symbol, though it contain in it the substance of the truth; for the Ancient of Days is not visible—"no man hath seen him at any time, neither can see him"—yet serveth it the purpose of representing to us the great truth taught in the second of Philippians, in these words: "Wherefore also God hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven and things in earth, and things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father."

The next thing to be considered, in respect to this kingdom, is, the persons who are denominated "saints," unto whom power and dominion are given under the Son of Man: "The kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given unto the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him." This language presents them, not as possessors of the kingdom, but as possessors under Christ. This kingdom which is given to them, and all the dominions over which they rule serve and obey him. They are not, therefore, independent rulers, but, as it were, viceroys of this kingdom. Now the question is, what people is here signified by the "people of the saints of the Most High." It is not said merely, "the saints of the Most High;" but, "the people of the saints of the Most High," who are set in opposition to all other peoples—all peoples serve and obey him—but this people ruleth, and governeth the subject nations, under him. And what nation did the Lord call to be a nation of kings and priests? Surely it was the Jewish nation; unto whom God sent this overture of the national covenant by the hand of Moses,—"I will make you a nation of kings and priests." Surely Daniel could understand no other thing but this, by the word of the Lord, "the people of the saints of the Most High." Now, if any one should ask, 'And why, upon this interpretation, was Daniel so grieved and troubled with the vision, when it concluded thus gloriously for the Jewish people?' I answer, His astonishment

and sorrow arose from this very thing, that his people were to be under the feet of the oppressor for such a fearful length of time, and to be treated with such fearful acts of cruelty. This it was which grieved and affected him. The Jews God did take into covenant with himself at Sinai, to make them a holy nation, or a nation of saints, upon condition of their keeping the statutes and commandments which he gave unto them. This covenant they brake; and in order that the justice, truth, and faithfulness of God might be shewn out in this people, as well as his grace and bounty and blessedness, he brought them into that very captivity of which Daniel hath here the vision. But, before bringing them into the great year of captivity, he announced unto them distinctly, by the mouth of Jeremiah, that he would make with them a new covenant, after those days of punishment were ended: and of this covenant the sum and substance is, that they should be a nation of saints: "I will put my laws in their hearts," (that is, the hearts of Judah and Israel,) "and I will write them in their minds; and I will be to them a God, and they shall be to me a people: and they shall no more teach every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord; for they shall know me, from the least even to the greatest: for I will be merciful to their iniquities, and their sins will I remember no more." And this is the substance of all the prophecies concerning the Jewish nation. There is not one oracle of God—no, not one—which doth not thus conclude with blessings upon the head of Judah and Israel. They are therefore still "the people of the saints of the Most High,"

though for a season lying under the righteous judgment of God. But when the captivity is concluded, the time set for favouring Zion is come, and the glory of Israel is restored: all promises made unto the seed of Abraham, which heretofore have failed through want of faith, now begin to be accomplished; and God's word, to every jot and tittle, becomes realized. And this is the "restitution of all things spoken of by all the holy Prophets." All things determined beforehand by God, and held forth unto the people under the condition of obedience, have failed. They are like a great work in ruins, or like the frame-work and materials of a great building not yet erected; but when the wrath is ended, and the time of scattering and peeling the holy people is accomplished, then, as saith the Prophet Daniel, "all these things shall be fulfilled." Being contemplated, therefore, as "the holy people," in the purpose and promise of God, they are here spoken of by Daniel under that name, and the dominion is assigned to them under Christ.

This interpretation is not only the literal and straight-forward one, but that which is confirmed by all the Prophets, and I may say by all the Scriptures. For example: in Isaiah lxi. it is written, that they shall be called "Trees of righteousness, The Planting of the Lord. They shall build the old wastes, they shall raise up the former desolations, and they shall repair the waste cities, the desolations of many generations. And strangers shall stand and feed your flocks, and the sons of the alien shall be your plowmen and your vine-dressers: but ye shall be named the priests

of the Lord; men shall call you the ministers of our God: ye shall eat the riches of the Gentiles, and in their glory shall ye boast yourselves." And again; "Who are these that fly as a cloud, and as the doves to their windows? Surely the isles shall wait for me, and the ships of Tarshish first, to bring thy sons from far, their silver and their gold with them, unto the name of the Lord thy God, and to the Holy One of Israel, because he hath glorified thee. And the sons of strangers shall build up thy walls, and their kings shall minister unto thee.....For the nation and kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish; yea, those nations shall be utterly waste. The glory of Lebanon shall come unto thee, the fir-tree and the pine-tree, and the box together, to beautify the place of my sanctuary; and I will make the place of my feet glorious. The sons also of them that afflicted thee shall come bending unto thee; and all they that despised thee shall bow themselves down at the soles of thy feet; and they shall call thee, The city of the Lord, The Zion of the Holy One of Israel....A little one shall become a thousand, and a small one a strong nation: I the Lord will hasten it in his time." And again, not to multiply quotations, Micah iv. 8; "Thou, O tower of the flock, the strong hold of the daughter of Zion, unto thee shall it come, even the first dominion; the kingdom shall come to the daughter of Jerusalem."—There can be no doubt, therefore, both from the words of the prophecy of Daniel itself, and from the testimony of all prophecies whatever, that, when the period of captivity is ended, God hath decreed unto the

Jewish people the dominion of the earth in the age to come, under Christ their King, who shall then prove himself, in the sight of all nations, to be The Glory of his people Israel.

To all this, the literal and direct interpretation of a hundred prophecies concerning the Jewish people, it is wont to be objected by us Gentiles, that 'it giveth too much glory to them, and taketh away the glory from us;' and accordingly we are at much pains to explain every thing away from the Jews, and to appropriate it all to ourselves: than which I know nothing which so well deserves the name of sacrilegious spoliation. It is true that the Jews are a wicked, unbelieving, stiff-necked, and rebellious people; but is not the long-suffering, forgiveness, and grace of God only the more illustrated thereby? As in Paul's conversion was shewn forth an ensample and pattern of all long-suffering to them which should hereafter believe in Jesus Christ unto life everlasting; so in the Jews hereafter shall be shewn forth the great and standing monument of the stedfastness of God's electing love, and the unchangeableness of his purpose to save those whom it pleaseth him to save. It was not for any thing in Abraham, nor in Abraham's seed, that God made choice of the Jewish nation, to enter into covenant with them; but it was to shew forth his decree of election,—that he would bring about the stability of the world and its blessedness, according to his purpose of election, against the deserving and against the nature of the creature. If it be said, 'But have you not already interpreted "the saints" of the spiritual church oppressed by the little

horn?' the full explanation of this will appear in the sequel of the discourse. Meanwhile it sufficeth for the continuity and consistency of our interpretation to observe, that we Gentiles are not a new stock, but a graft inserted into the stock of Abraham; who was justified by faith in the imputed righteousness of Christ, as we are: and so we become children of Abraham by faith; and the blessing of Abraham cometh upon us, and we are brought into the covenant. Here also there was a precedency unto the Jews in Jesus Christ, by means of whom the Gentiles were called: but when the fulness of the Gentiles shall be come, then all Israel shall be saved; and "the Redeemer shall come out of Zion, who shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob." And therefore, unto us, the dispersed of the Gentiles, is applied the very language which the Lord, by the mouth of Moses, proffered unto Israel: "Ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people." On this account it is, that in the body of the vision the people with whom the little horn maketh war are called "the saints:" in which is included, no doubt, the persecutions of the Jewish nation, but rather of the Christian church, which hath entered into the tents and tabernacles, the promises and privileges, which the Jewish nation rejected. Indeed, the term "saints," in its substance, meaneth holy men; those with whom is the Spirit of holiness and the service of the Holy One. These were the Jews under the old covenant, until they rejected the Holy One and the Just: these are the Christians now, so long as we retain the faithful testimony of the Holy One and

the Just. But when we shall have rejected him—which is not a possibility merely, but a certainty, and almost a present reality—then we shall be the saints no longer, but shall give place to those to whom the Lord shall vouchsafe his grace on our rejection of him; and all Scripture setteth apart this honour for the Jewish people: all Scripture declareth that the Gentile church shall entirely fall away from the faith, and shall be consumed with infinite judgments. Not but that there shall be "through-bands," as we say, in the north, of binders in a stone-fence—that is, chosen men of God, to witness patiently and contend manfully, until the destruction be over-past and the clear light be shining again. But the great body of the visible church—that is, the baptized—shall apostatize, as indeed they have already apostatized, from the faith, and for their apostasy shall be consumed unto the end.

Now, this very act of consumption and judgment is itself given unto the saints of the Most High, verse 21: "And I beheld, and the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them; until the Ancient of Days came, and judgment was given to the saints of the Most High; and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom." With respect to this point, of the judgment being given to the saints of the Most High, I believe it to be nothing less or more than that which is written symbolically in the iid chapter of Daniel, in these words: "And in the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed: and the kingdom shall

not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever. Forasmuch as thou sawest that the stone was cut out of the mountain without hands, and that it brake in pieces the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver, and the gold; the great God hath made known to the king what shall come to pass hereafter." And, without a symbol, the same act of judgment upon the Gentiles, at the hand of the saints of God, is thus written in the cxlixth Psalm; "Let the saints be joyful in glory: let them sing aloud upon their beds. Let the high praises of God be in their mouth, and a two-edged sword in their hand; to execute vengeance upon the heathen (Gentiles), and punishment upon the people; to bind their kings with chains, and their nobles with fetters of iron." It is the same mystery, of our serving God as his mighty men of war, which is set forth by the Lord Jesus unto the church of Thyatira; "He that overcometh, and keepeth my words unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations (and he shall rule them with a rod of iron; as the vessels of a potter shall they be broken to shivers), even as I have received of my Father." Now, I know not what Puritanism and affectation of peace hath seized Christians in these last days, that they should have such a horror of these passages, which speak of the execution of judgment being given to the saints of the Lord. It is a great principle of the Christian church, that war is a part of God's holy providence; which shall not be removed, until Solomon, our Prince of Peace, shall come. Upon which principle acting, the

church hath ever looked upon Quakers, and others who refuse to serve the king in war, as under a great delusion, and falling short in a great point of the duty of the subject. If so, shall we not be at liberty to draw our sword at the command of the King of kings, for the execution of his righteous judgments?

I make no doubt, therefore, following the whole tenor of Scripture, and submitting to the information thereof, that Christ will use his saints, when it so pleaseth him, to execute the judgment upon the fourth beast: and I believe, as hath been often said already, that this he will do mainly by means of the Ten Tribes; through whose valour he will subvert the infidel-antichrist head of the Roman empire, who is yet to arise; and deliver out of Babylon the two tribes of Benjamin and Judah, who are at present under the imprisonment thereof; and not only them, but also whatever of the Christian church it may please the Lord in this way and at this time to deliver. This, I say, will be accomplished by the kings from the east, whose way is preparing by the drying up of Euphrates; whose coming is the "tidings out of the East," which, according to Daniel, do trouble the infidel king. And, the saints being thus delivered out of the territory of the fourth beast, its body shall then be given to the burning flame; that is, the whole territory of Babylon, or Idumea, or Rome, shall be given to utter destruction; according to all the prophecies, and especially the xxxiv th chapter of Isaiah. This being accomplished before the destruction of the other three beasts, whose life is prolonged for a season and a time, and the Jews being now settled

in their own land, we have a second work of destruction—to wit, of the remnants of the former three beasts—not indeed described in this vision, which entirely, or chiefly, concerneth the destruction of the fourth kingdom; but, though not here given, yet certainly elsewhere, under the figure of the "Assyrian," under "the king of fierce countenance," and most distinctly, as hath been said, under Gog and Magog. When the Papal kingdom hath been taken out of the way, and the Jews restored unto their own land, there remains that northern power, which is the head of the Greek Church, and is becoming daily more and more involved with the affairs of Greece, extricating itself from under the Ottoman yoke, and taking an independent standing among the kingdoms. There is also the Persian kingdom, likewise becoming conspicuous in the affairs of the world; and there is the Turk, who, though he should be driven out of Europe, will yet represent the Babylonian power, by possessing the large territories of Chaldea and the Euphrates, and the sites of ancient Babylon and Nineveh. These three remnants of the Babylonian, Persian, and Greek power, after the ten horns of the Papal kingdom have been destroyed, being rallied under the banner of Gog, the chief prince of Ross, Mosch, and Tobolsk, shall come up against Jerusalem, according to the xxxviiith and xxxixth chapters of Ezekiel, and be destroyed by the shaking, the great shaking, in the land of Israel: according as it is written, "Surely in that day there shall be a great shaking in the land of Israel; so that the fishes of the sea, and the fowls of the heaven, and the beasts of the

field, and all creeping things that creep upon the earth, and all the men that are upon the face of the earth, shall shake at my presence; and the mountains shall be thrown down, and the steep places shall fall, and every wall shall fall to the ground. And I will call for a sword against him throughout all my mountains, saith the Lord God: every man's sword shall be against his brother. And I will plead against him with pestilence and with blood; and I will rain upon him, and upon his bands, and upon the many people that are with him, an overflowing rain, and great hailstones, fire and brimstone. Thus will I magnify myself, and sanctify myself; and I will be known in the eyes of many nations, and they shall know that I am the Lord." This, I conceive, is the last act of God's judgment upon the quick; and from henceforth I conceive the saints to be established in that kingdom which is an everlasting kingdom, and to receive that dominion which hath no end. Why then put the question, 'And is it to have no end? Is the kingdom of this earth to endure for ever?' I answer, For ever; for though we hear often of the Son of Man coming to the earth, we never hear of him taking his departure again; and much is written concerning the new Jerusalem "which cometh down out of heaven," but nothing whatever of its going back to heaven again. The judgment of the dead, and the casting out of all the wicked, and of death, is only an event in the history of the kingdom, concerning which more hereafter.

Having thus discoursed of the advent of the Son of man in the clouds of heaven, and of his receiving the kingdom, and of its endurance

for ever and ever upon the earth; it might now be expected that we should treat of the nature of that kingdom, of the manner of its government, of the nature of its blessedness, and of every other thing connected therewith: of all which particulars I am neither unwilling nor unprepared to discourse, as the Lord may give me understanding and opportunity; but they belong not properly to our present subject, which, having brought Messiah into possession of the earth, doth there properly conclude. The particulars of that kingdom, the full and perfect idea of it, is properly a subject, not of Jewish, but of Christian prophecy. The main subject it is of our Lord's parables, to unfold the germ of ancient prophecy concerning the kingdom of heaven; and to represent the dignity and grandeur and constitution of the same, is a prime object of the Apocalypse: from which parables of the Lord, and from the Apocalypse, to set forth and body out the nature and constitution of that millennial kingdom, is a work which I have conceived in my mind, which I have gone a certain length to execute, and which, when God giveth me more perfect understanding thereof, I shall not fail to complete; perceiving, as I do, that the church is in danger of being shipwrecked from not knowing what port to steer upon. A work it is much wanted, in order to guide the uncertain course of the church's hope, and to prevent a multitude of crude notions, which men in their haste will not fail, and are already beginning, to set forth. But whether I shall be honoured to draw out the scheme of orthodox hope, by presenting from the holy Scriptures a consistent view

of the kingdom of God; or whether some other shall be chosen as God's servant in that labour; I know it will be done, and that at no distance of time, for the comfort of the church in the perilous storm which is bursting around her. And forasmuch as life is uncertain, and we must render back to God an account of our gifts, I shall not conclude these lectures without presenting some ideas, which I have gathered to myself from holy Scripture, upon this great subject.

First, then, to speak of the visible: I believe that the same people whom Daniel and the former church understood by the saints of God—to wit, the Jewish people—shall certainly hold the sovereignty of all the kingdoms and peoples of the earth. I believe that they shall stand nearer to God than any other nation whatever under the sun; that the lineal descendants of Abraham, together with such strangers as shall be willing and permitted to enter into the new covenant, shall be a governing nation, the metropolitan people, the royal house, the palace, and the sanctuary of the world. Not that every one of them will be a king over a particular nation or city of the earth; not that any of them may be called to go forth from the Holy Land; but that the earth will be taught to look up to the Jewish people as the medium through which they receive from Christ the blessings of goodness, and the medium through which they repay to Christ the tributes of thankfulness. As children are taught to venerate their mother, as handmaids are taught to venerate their mistress, by him who is father and lord of the house; so shall Christ teach the nations

to look up to and venerate the Jewish people, which shall be as the Eden of the world, the land of innocency, the land of holiness, the land of blessedness. And to disallow this supremacy, to dishonour this sacred dignity, will not, I believe, be tolerated to any people whatsoever; and I believe that the crime of the nations, at the end of the Millennium, will stand in their disallowance and dishonour of this Jewish supremacy. The symbolical Gog and Magog, the nations scattered over the four corners of the earth, shall come up against the camp of the saints and the holy city—that is, against Judea and Jerusalem—in proud insurrection, with a view of destroying them by main force, as the literal Gog and Magog comes up against them before the Millennium, and shall in like manner be destroyed.—Such, I conceive, shall be the glorious pre-eminence of the Jewish people during the millennial age, during the kingdom of the Son of Man: and this age shall be concluded by a translation of the Jewish people bodily into the spiritual estate at that time the confederate nations are destroyed by fire, and the judgment of the great white throne is disburdening the earth of all corruption and of all corrupt ones, and of death, and of the grave, and of the devil and all his angels: of all which relics of evil being disburdened, the whole earth shall assume its spiritual and unchangeable glory.

And now, in the second place, with respect to the actual government of the nations, who thus look up to the Jews as their metropolitan people, as their nation of kings and priests. I believe, that, as the Jewish people are governed by Christ, who

sitteth upon the throne of David, the nations shall be governed by risen saints: by those who have borne the reproach of Christ amongst the nations, I do believe that the nations shall be governed. If the Son of man, who hath by word of God the supremacy, took not power until he had conquered Satan, then believe I, and I feel sure of it, that no person shall hold the power over men in flesh and blood who hath not in his own body received the victory over Satan by the resurrection from the dead. Now, of these kings, who sit upon the thrones of judgment, I further believe that not one belongeth to the present dispensation: I believe every one of them to be raised Jews; and that every baptized person, being baptized into a spiritual life, must be raised in a spiritual glory, which is the glory of the new Jerusalem; but the Jews, who were not a spiritual people, but only a carnal people, having carnal ordinances, shall be raised in the perfection of the carnal or natural man, capable of being looked upon by carnal eyes, and being conversed with by men in flesh and blood. "There is one glory of the natural, and there is another glory of the spiritual; the glory of the celestial is one, and the glory of the terrestrial is another." The Jewish church were trained in this hope of coming with Christ, in the resurrection of the dead, to stand in their several lots; and this hope I believe they will realize. So that not only shall the Jewish nation in flesh be a royal nation, taken as a whole, but the raised saints of that nation shall exercise the actual government over the nations and kingdoms and provinces and cities of the world: so that it shall be most literally

fulfilled, that the saints of the Most High, who were brought under the subjection of these four successive monarchies, shall at length possess the kingdom and the glory, the power and the dominion, under the Son of man. Thus much I believe with respect to the Jewish people, both those who are raised from the dead and those who in flesh and blood survive the judgments which come upon the earth.

And all this, which I believe will be done in the Jewish nation, is but a type of what will be done in the Christian church; the sons of God, the sons of the resurrection: every one of whom I believe will be raised in spiritual glory; in such glory as Christ appeared with on the mount of transfiguration: [and I know not whether Elias and Moses may not be admitted into the inheritance of the same; Elias, from his translation in a chariot of fire; and Moses, from his face shining with glory, and the mystery that resteth over his body. But I am not now entering into particulars.] I say then, that I believe that every child of the Spirit, every regenerate person, every son of God (and there were none advanced into this dignity till after Christ's resurrection and the descent of the Spirit) shall be raised with a celestial glory, in a celestial body: and that these bright and shining ones shall come in the new Jerusalem, not wanting one; great and small, the whole family of the sons of God: and that those, being sons of God, upon the earth in flesh at that time, shall be changed into the like glory: so that the whole election of the Father, the whole body of Christ, the whole temple of the Spirit, the whole bride of

the Lamb, the whole city and tabernacle of God, shall descend from heaven, and rest upon the earth, somewhere within the confines of the Holy Land. This is not the city of the Jews in flesh and blood: no, nor into this city do I believe that the raised Jews, who govern the earth, shall be permitted to enter till their translation into spiritual glory shall come. This is the bride of the Lamb, it is the church of the first-born: and he that hath been baptized into this hope, if he will go back to set his heart upon the terrestrial condition, either of men in flesh and blood, or of the risen Jewish saints in the glory of the natural; such an one is not found a faithful witness unto God of spiritual things: he is doing over again in his kind, what the Jews in Messiah's time did in their kind; and he standeth in the same peril of rejection, yea, and of apostasy. The New Jerusalem is our hope; the likeness of Christ's glorious body; to be with him, to see him as he is;—a dignity above the Abrahamic, above the Mosaic, above the Millennial, above the throned kings of the Millennium: a dignity unto which the throned kings of the Millennium, risen saints though they be, shall aspire as the acmé of all perfection, and unto which they shall at length attain. This New-Jerusalem globe of spiritual light, head and heart of spiritual life, is what we are baptized into the hope of, what it is sin to forget, what it is infidelity to deny, what it is apostasy to depart from. Now, this New Jerusalem is unto the Jewish nation exactly what their Jerusalem is to the other nations. That it should abide amongst them is their glory. That God in flesh glorified, whose tent it is, should abide

amongst them, is their glory. Christ, and Christ's wife, the elect church from amongst Jews and Gentiles, and all nations, gathered by the Spirit since the Spirit's descent; Christ, the Father of the age to come; and we who are his children, having received power to become sons of God, are the glory of the Jewish nation by dwelling amongst them: and therefore are they the glory of the earth. Thus it is: the holy of holies, with God's presence in Christ resting upon the cherubim, the redeemed church, this is the new Jerusalem; then the holy place, which is the Jewish land; and then the court of the Gentiles, which is the other nations: and thus have you the whole world, in its threefold degrees of sacredness,—the outer court, the holy place, and the holy of holies.

And now, furthermore, there wanteth but one link to perfect this chain of holy government; which is, to connect Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, and Job and David and Daniel, and all the other men raised in the perfection of natural beauty, natural wisdom, and natural power—these officers of the King without the city to connect with the King within the city. This is the thing which remaineth to complete our scheme. Now this is the high ministry which I believe the martyrs who have been beheaded for Jesus will carry on. I believe that from the city these shining ones shall go forth on ministries between the fixed resident governors of the kingdoms and the new Jerusalem, the fixed residence of the great King; and I say not but as they go on their ministry the heavens shall shine with their glory,

and the eyes of men shall catch glimpses of that spiritual Agency which is ever watching over them. And thus in the spiritual shall the martyred sons of God direct, comfort, and intend the government of, those raised ones, who in natural wisdom and in natural strength are governing the nations. And thus the xx th chap. of the Apocalypse will turn out to be exactly in the spiritual, what the vii th chap. of Daniel is in the literal, with respect to the judgment and kingdom of the saints: just as the xiii th chap. of the Apocalypse answereth spiritually and symbolically to the same vii th chap. of Daniel, with respect to the oppression of the saints and the little horn. Nor do I say that the spiritual guardian and legate from the holy city, unto any kingdom, province, or city, may not or will not be known. Yea, I believe known he will be, though not for the purposes of intercourse, of common intercourse and constant government, but for the purposes of honour, and love, and reverence, and fear. Yea, I believe that he will be looked upon as the occupant of the throne, and the other as it were but his vicegerent; the perfection of the natural thus ever deferring and looking up unto the perfection of the spiritual. Nor do I say that under this crowned martyr others, who in the same region of the earth have endured for Christ's sake, may not in like manner, as a court of guardian spirits unto the crowned martyr, intend, watch over, and govern, and bless, and report the blessedness of, their several charges: but, like as it is not necessary to the royal priesthood of the Jewish people that every one of them should go forth of Judea and be a king; so neither is it necessary for the

royal priesthood of the New Jerusalem that cometh down from heaven, that every one who belongeth unto that city should go forth of it, and take charge and superintendance of the earth; yet it may be so, for any thing I can find written in the Scriptures. And thus under Christ shall the world stand, under the Son of Man shall the government of the earth be placed; who for his own dignity shall govern the Jewish people, sitting on the throne of David, and governing the twelve tribes by his twelve Apostles, according to his promise; they being also in the glory of the spiritual: upon which perhaps it may be the peculiar privilege of the Jewish people ever to look: but I rather incline to believe that to see Christ as he is, is the privilege of the raised saints; and that when they appear unto men in flesh and blood it will be in the clothing of a cloud, with some rainbow softness surrounded, for the sake of mortal sight: although it be hard to determine these matters, and would be rash positively to decide upon them, seeing we know not what new faculties and powers the human sense may attain unto, when Satan hath been cast out of flesh, as assuredly he will, in that glorious Millennium. But of this I feel well assured, that there is an essential difference between the resurrection state and condition of those who were brought into the church before the spiritual dispensation began in Pentecost, and of those who have been baptized by the Spirit into the condition of the sons of God, and who can never revert to the natural, but must ever strive after and believe that they shall obtain the spiritual.

And now, if any one further inquire, what shall be the principles of government over men in

flesh, I answer, Perfect obedience unto the moral law. I believe the moral law to be the perfection of the natural man in mortal flesh and blood subsisting; and that, Satan being cast out of the earth and of the creatures and of man himself, and men put under a holy humane system of government, they will both be able, and be required, to keep the law. That the moral law will be the statute law of the kingdom I verily believe; and that perfect obedience will be the condition of life; and that there will be no grace nor mercy, but holiness, righteousness, and truth; and that the great multitude shall live in obedience, and that the examples of the disobedient shall be the rare exceptions. And I further believe, that when these exceptions do occur, either death shall cut them off by Christ's command, or rather they shall go down quick into the pit: and, on the other hand, that when it is the pleasure of the King to reward any one for signal service and supererogatory obedience, they shall be translated at once into the New Jerusalem.—But into these things I am not curious to inquire; neither would I have any one to receive these things without well trying them by the word of God; yet I do give them out, as not hasty or rash conjectures, but as persuasions and convictions, and many of them assured beliefs of my own mind.

But, as I have said, this is not the place for examining to the bottom of this mystery: God may grant us, what we much desire, an opportunity hereafter of opening the new light cast upon the purpose of God with respect to this earth, by the revelation of the New Testament; and then the time will come for going to the bottom of the

matter. For the present, I may turn your attention to two passages, in which the subject is treated of: the first is 1 Cor. xv. 24; "Then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he shall have put down all rule and all authority and power." In this passage there are three epochs, or eras, towards the attainment of the end that all shall be made alive in Christ: the first epoch is Christ's resurrection ("Christ the first-fruits"); the second epoch is the resurrection of the saints ("they that are Christ's at his coming"); the third epoch, the delivering up of the kingdom unto God, after death itself is destroyed, and life eternal and immortal, hath the inheritance and possession of all creatures upon the earth. Now this seems to me to declare, that the end of Christ's work with the earth is to bring it out of the possession of death into the possession of everlasting life: and how, after death is destroyed from off its face, it should itself come at any time to be destroyed, is what I cannot for a moment understand. The second passage is the xxth of the Apocalypse, where is set forth the resurrection of the saints at Christ's coming, and their living and reigning with Christ a thousand years: after which time, whatever it be, the livers upon the earth in flesh and blood—that is, the way-farers or sojourners, as distinguished from the risen saints—fall into an apostasy, through the letting loose of Satan; upon which occasion, confederating against the camp of the saints and the beloved city—that is, as I take it, the New Jerusalem come down from heaven and existing on the earth during the Millennium,—

they are destroyed with fire out of heaven, and the devil is cast incontinent into hell. Then proceedeth the judgment of the great white throne; from whose face, it is said, "the earth and the heaven fled away, and there was found no place for them;" and then it is added, chap. xxi. 1, "I saw a new heaven and a new earth, for the first heaven and the first earth had passed away, and there was no more sea." This language would lead a novice in the study of Scripture to imagine an annihilation and a new creation of earth and heavens; but one better acquainted with the prophetic Scriptures, and with Scripture ideas in general—of which annihilation is not one, but change towards an unchangeable, and redemption towards an infallible, is constantly one—would hesitate a long time before he admitted such an inference. In the iii d chapter of the 2d of Peter there is this succession of changes in the heavens and the earth: first, the old heavens and earth, that were before the deluge; secondly, those that now are; and, thirdly, those new heavens and new earth which we look for at the coming of Christ: and here is a fourth—to wit, a new heavens and a new earth at the end of the Millennium, after the casting out of death. Now, if the last of these is to proceed in the way of annihilation and new creation, then should the others likewise so proceed; which not having been the case in respect to the change operated at the deluge, nor being believed by any to be the case in respect to the change which is to be operated at the Millennium, it ought not to be believed that it will be the case in respect to the change which is to be ope-

rated at the end of the Millennium. The new heavens and the new earth of the Millennium are evidently, from Isaiah lxv. and lxvi., declared to be the present world under Christ's government, yet existing still under the badge and condition of a fallen materialism, with death still existing in it, and growth, and corruption, and the ashes of all the wicked: which elements of evil being at the end of the Millennium separated unto the lake that burneth (which is hell), the earth and heavens shall come out in their crystalline purity, amaranthine glory, and adamantine durability; and therein through eternity abide;—a fit residence and habitation and palace and temple and glorious throne for Jesus Christ, the manifest Godhead, and Lord of all; and for his redeemed and ransomed, the partakers of his visible substance, and upheld in union, though not communion, with the Godhead: from which, as from a centre, shall go forth, as I believe, the messengers of his counsels, and the ministers of his pleasure, and the administrators of his government, with the speed of lightning, with the rapidity of volition, with the comprehension of thought, unto the utmost bounds of the habitable world, through all the spheres of the heavens, to keep all things in the knowledge and in the obedience of the invisible Father manifested in the person of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Such, dear brethren, is my idea concerning the world to come, and the constitution of it, from the time that the Only-begotten shall be brought the second time into manifestation; which time I believe to be near at hand. I

look daily for the rising again of the beast out of the bottomless pit, which is the infidel head of Rome, to do desolation upon the Papacy. I look therewith, or immediately thereupon, for the gathering of the Ten Tribes to come up, and, in concert with the power of the North, to overwhelm the infidel Antichrist in the Holy Land, by the glorious holy mountain. In consequence of which, I look for the settlement of the tribes in their own land, re-constituted by Elias under the dispensation of Ezekiel's temple; and soon, very soon thereafter, while yet they dwell in unwalled villages, I look for the coming up of that northern power, with the remnants of the Greek, Persian, and Babylonian empires, against Jerusalem; when they are broken to shivers by the wrath of the Son. Then I look for the personal coming of Solomon, the Prince of Peace, with all his saints, and the opening of the Millennial dispensation. All which, so far as prophetic numbers and signs and seasons enable me to judge, shall take place and be accomplished within the term of a generation—that is, within the period of forty years. I do not ask of you to believe this upon my shewing, but I entreat you not slightly to reject it because you are at present ignorant of, and unequal to, the inquiries of the learned in these matters. I pray you most earnestly not to put away from you the truth which I have in this discourse set out, but to lay it up in your heart, and to meditate the matter; and see whether or not it answereth better to the holy Scriptures, that Christ should come to raise the saints and reign with them on the earth a thousand

years, at the end of which to judge the dead and sanctify the world; or that he should come at the end of all things, and in the course of a day, or less space, should take his departure with his saints to some unknown sojourn.

And now, seeing that I have cast my bread upon the waters of this great city, may the Lord make fruit to appear many days hence! And, now that I have finished the work—for which I left my ordinary expostions to undertake this labour for the kingdom—I ask in return from your charity, my fellow-citizens, prayers in behalf of my flock, and the flocks of my brethren, and the prodigals of our nation, who have wandered from home to this great city where the lines have fallen unto us: and I do devoutly, and from my heart, pray Almighty God to keep the souls of all this Christian people who now hear me, and who have heard me during this ministry; and not yours only, but the souls of all our countrymen and brethren of this good land of Great Britain: and I pray God to bless the church, and to revive his work in the midst of us; and to bless our gracious King, and to bless all his people: and I further pray the Almighty Father to hasten the coming of his Son in his kingdom and glory, and our gathering together unto Him, out of all kindreds, and tongues, and peoples, and nations. Amen and Amen.

DISCOURSE XI.

GENERAL CONCLUSION FROM THE PRECEDING DISCOURSES, CONCERNING THE RELATION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

DANIEL vii. 28.

Hitherto is the end of the matter.

HAVING thus brought down the stream of God's providence over kings and kingdoms, from the time of Nebuchadnezzar unto the coming of the Son of Man in the clouds of heaven; and having likewise all along improved this precious discourse, for the use of all kings and of all subjects, for the direction of the church and of the state; I do now intend in a summary way to gather together the sum and substance of the whole matter, separated, as much as possible, from the conditions of time and place, and rendered unto the reason and spirit of every man: in doing which, I shall first lay down the true doctrine of the kingdom; and secondly, the true doctrine of the church; and thirdly, the true doctrine of their connexion or relation one to another.

First then, I shall lay down the true doctrine of the kingdom, as deduced from the whole subject-matter of our discourse.

From eternity the Father destined his Son to be

the Head and the Heir of all creation, and by his Son he created all things; and for his Son they are, and by him they all consist. But it was as a man that the Father purposed he should inherit them all, after he should as a man have redeemed them all. The whole creation, therefore, was brought out in subjection to a man, who falling from his first estate, all things with him, and in him, did fall. Then the devil, even Satan, the old serpent, obtained the headship and mastery over mankind, and all which was originally created subject to mankind. The beasts of the field, the fowl of the air, the fish of the sea, the fruit-bearing earth, the air and all things therein became wrested out of Adam's hand, and lorded over by Satan who claims the kingdoms of the world as his own, to dispose of at his pleasure (Luke iv. 5, 6), whom our Lord calls the prince or archon of the world (John xiv. 30); and the Apostle Paul, the prince or archon of the power of the air; but which title Christ doth now claim to himself (Rev. i.), the prince or archon of the kings of the earth. How then did the world pass from the archonship of the devil, to the archonship of Christ? When the devil obtained the headship and mastery of man, and man's dominion, God said, "The Seed of the woman shall bruise the head of the serpent." This the Apostle declareth (Heb. ii. 14) Christ did, by dying, "that by death he might destroy or undo him that had the power of death, that is the devil;" and John saith he did it by coming into the world (1 John iii. 8), "For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil."

And our Lord himself, in several places, declareth the same victory, as (Luke x. 18) when the seventy returned with joy, saying, "Lord, even the devils are subject unto us through thy Name," he said unto them, "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven." And again (John xvi. 11), speaking of the office of the Holy Ghost, he says that he will reprove the world of judgment, because the archon of this world hath been judged.

From these passages of holy writ, it is manifest, that our Lord, in the days of his flesh, by his death, and especially by his resurrection, did come into controversy with the devil for the supremacy, and did wrest it from him. And, accordingly, the very first sermon preached by Peter on the day of Pentecost, doth claim for him the title both of Christ and Lord; that is, David's Lord, the Lord of a king, the Lord over God's anointed; for Peter makes his quotation from the cx th Psalm, where Christ is presented to us, first as sitting for a while at God's right hand; then as ruling in Zion over all his enemies, and judging the heads over many lands, and striking through kings in the day of his wrath; that is, it presents him first as God's proclaimed King, whose person is to be worshipped, and authority obeyed by kings during his absence; and who, after a certain time, being able to endure their disobedience no longer, doth come in judgment upon them, and utterly destroy them all. In the next chapter but one (Acts iv. 25), the prerogatives conveyed in the iid Psalm are likewise claimed for Jesus of Nazareth. And these prerogatives are the same as in the cx th Psalm, to wit, his possessing the nations for

"his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession." With this, the supremacy of the nations, he was formally invested on the day of his resurrection, when he was "declared to be the Son of God with power;" and when he said, "All power is given unto me in heaven and on earth." And in the same Psalm it is prophesied, that the kings of the earth, and their peoples, instead of yielding allegiance to God's proclaimed King, would gather and combine against him, to cast out his religion, and subvert his laws; and that he would thereupon come upon them with a rod of iron, and dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel. This,—the insubordination of the kings, and of the peoples, which the Apostles, in that chapter of the Acts already referred to, declare was even then in being, and which is to go on unto the end,—ariseth from Satan's presence still on the earth, in the air, and in the hearts of men. And he was left in this power for the express purpose of enabling kings, and magistrates, and peoples to shew forth their allegiance and fealty unto Christ, by preferring him to the devil; and therefore this Psalm concludeth with a kindly exhortation to them to faithfulness during the season of his absence. "Be wise now therefore, O ye kings; be instructed, ye judges of the earth. Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling. Kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and ye perish from the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little. Blessed are all they that put their trust in him." Without going further into authorities upon this subject, we may therefore lay it down, in the words of Revelation, as the grand doctrine concerning power,

that Christ is the Prince of the kings of the earth. Wherever the Gospel is preached, this is preached unto kings, and unto magistrates, that they have not only redemption of their souls from Satan, but likewise redemption of their power and dignity, of their state and kingdom. And whensoever by baptism they do acknowledge the Son as Jesus their Saviour, they do also acknowledge him as Christ their Lord. From thenceforth they must acknowledge him in all their acts of kingly power, and require all their servants to do likewise. Wherever the name of our blessed Saviour is named, he is recognised as Jesus the author of all salvation; as Christ, God's anointed one, and God's anointing one, at once the receiver and the dispenser of the Holy Ghost; and he is likewise acknowledged Lord, David's Lord, "King of kings, and Lord of lords, unto whom every knee must bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth, and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father."

If we now inquire in what way Christ expecteth kings, his vicegerents, to fulfil their delegated office, I will refer you to a Psalm which is referred to by our Lord himself, and which was much in the mouth of our Reformers, and is embodied in the standards of our church. It is the lxxxiid: "God standeth in the congregation of the mighty: he judgeth among the gods." Who is signified by God here we know from the last verse, which refers it to him who is to judge the earth, and to inherit all nations; that is, the Son. Christ, therefore, standeth in the congregation of God:

Christ judgeth among the gods. He giveth to kings his own name, thereby enduing them with his own dignity; so that no one may move his tongue, or lift his hand against the king, without doing the same against Jesus Christ the Lord. Upon this principle it is, that the service of the Church of England appointed for the day of King Charles's death—I do not say martyrdom—is composed. And, no doubt, this is the true basis of all obedience and subjection; not any covenant entered into with the people, still less the law of the strongest, but the Divine institution of magistracy, and Christ's delegation of his name and authority. He that reviles the king, reviles the ordinance of God,—reviles Christ the King. Kings are not overruled by the people: it is neither divinity, nor is it law, to say so. They are not overruled by the states of parliament: it is neither divinity nor law to say so. They are responsible to Christ, and unto him alone. He, and he alone, sitteth in the congregation of the mighty: He, and he alone, "judgeth among the gods." I speak it because it is God's truth, and profitable unto all things: I speak it not to indulge arbitrary and tyrannical power; verily no. Christ is a holier Judge, and a more fearful and severe one than man: therefore he saith, speaking unto the gods, "How long will ye judge unjustly, and accept the persons of the wicked?" These are his accusations; unjust judgment, and the promotion of wicked persons. He speaketh to them in a condemnatory strain, because they will be ever setting their own inclinations, pleasures, and passions, before equity, justice, and good govern-

ment. They will be ever making favourites of unworthy persons, and employing ministers who fear not God, neither give glory unto Christ; and, therefore, he that sitteth Judge, and presideth over their sessions, chideth them; and, having with authority and command rebuked, he proceedeth to instruct them how they should "occupy till he come." "Defend the poor and fatherless: do justice to the afflicted and needy. Deliver the poor and needy: rid them out of the hand of the wicked." This, now, is Christ's commission to kings: first, for defence of those whom the providence of God leaveth bare and helpless,—whether amongst their subjects, or amongst their neighbour states,—when they shall see one tyrannizing over another, who cometh seeking help; for they are not only to defend, but likewise to deliver, yea, with strength to rid them out of the hand of the wicked. This is the great end of power, for the defence of the weak against the strong, of the oppressed against their oppressors: and with this, cometh justice to those that are afflicted and needy. The king is, therefore, the high constable of his dominions, for the preservation of his people: he is the chief judge, for the declaration of justice; and he is the generalissimo of the forces, for the defence of the kingdom. And all magistrates, all judges, all sheriffs, all captains of the forces, yea, and all legislators also, do derive their several dignities from him, and he deriveth his dignity from Christ. This I take to be the true constitution of a Christian kingdom; and of this our kingdom surely it is the constitution, wherein all nobility, all chosen representatives in parliament, all officers in the army

and navy, all magistrates, sheriffs, and justices of the peace, hold their commissions from the king, and the king is held responsible for all their doings. And such, doubtless, is the constitution of a kingdom, such the office and authority of the gods, as the same is set forth in holy Scripture. These are the foundations of a Christian state; and whenever these foundations are subverted, judgment proceedeth; as it is written in the next verse: "They know not, neither will they understand; they walk on in darkness: all the foundations of the earth are out of course." Ignorance of this, the great origin, and these, the great ends of established government; darkness in the minds of rulers, with respect to the dignity and responsibility of their office as emanating from and responsible to Christ, and him only; the notion that their authority springs from the church, or from any man in the church, as the bishop of Rome,—that it springs from the people, or any act of the confederated people; the notion that they hold their crowns in trust for the people, and that they are responsible to the people; the notion, that the union between kings and people is of the nature of a covenant or compact, which may be dissolved as circumstances shall arise;—all these notions which now possess the world,—however specious they be, and agreeable to the selfish principle of our nature, and to what are called the rights of man,—do in truth proceed from contempt of God's King, who is Christ, and ignorance of that authority which he exerciseth upon the earth, by that ordinance of the civil magistrate. This is the ignorance and walking on in darkness, which cause the foun-

dations of the earth to be out of course; and when these foundations are destroyed, observe what follows after. "I have said, Ye are gods, and all of you children of the Most High: but ye shall die like men, and fall like one of the princes." The dignity of their office, the dignity of their name shall avail them nothing, when they shall have consummated the great apostasy of power. Though they had been baptized into the church, and were entitled to the name, "sons of God," yea, though they had received the dignity of gods themselves, yet shall they die like Adam, and fall like Satan, one of the princes. Their crime consisting in this very thing, that they have apostatised from that dignity of sons of God, yea of God, to which they had been advanced, being the apostasy of power and of sovereignty; such as was of old in Satan, and afterward in Adam. How ignorant are men grown, who talk of royalty and magistracy, as if it were a common thing, as if it might be filled by Papist, Turk, Infidel, Atheist. That such things should be taught, should be believed by the chief and principal persons of the kingdom, is proof, beyond all contradiction, that we are come to the perilous edge of apostasy; which being consummated, the gods shall die like men; the memory of them shall be put out from the earth; vicegerency of men in flesh shall cease; He that shall come will come, of whom it is said in the last verse of this Royal Psalm, "Arise, O God, judge the earth: for thou shalt inherit all nations." And thus our King, Christ, taketh his inheritance of the earth, asserteth his Princedom over the kings of the earth, judgeth those wicked servants whom he left in charge of the house, and planteth those

thrones which shall never be removed, and serveth himself with those kings and priests whom he is now preparing for the kingdom through great patience and tribulation. If this be not the true doctrine of Christ's Lordship, if this be not the true standing of kings and magistrates, if this be not the proper ground of all subjection, then know I neither the word of God nor yet the creeds of the orthodox churches.

Kings and magistrates may assume, in their own right, to reign, without acknowledging their authority to be delegated unto them by Christ; they may be crowned in their own name; they may put the crown upon their own head, as did the late Emperor of the French. This was the form of wicked power which Christianity found every where in the world, and against which it had to contend. And how did Christianity contend against the empire of Pagan Rome, and the other empires of the Heathen world who knew not Christ,—who knew not God? Even as she contendeth against every other device of Satan, by the preaching of the truth. Not by withdrawing allegiance; not by refusing obedience; not by withholding tribute; not by disobeying the laws; not by hesitating to suffer and to die. There is no error so fatal to the church and to the kingdom, as to think that our fealty and duty to the magistrate dependeth upon his fealty and obedience to Christ. His Judge for his disobedience is Christ, and not we the subjects. The grievance we may express; but, still, with all reverence, and with no threatening, ought it to be expressed. The consequences unto himself and to his kingdom, from the wrath

and indignation of God, we ought fully to shew forth in a spirit of love and intercession, not in a spirit of hatred and malediction. In this point, I hesitate not to say, that many of the Reformers and the most part of the Covenanters erred, chiefly through ignorance of the vicegerency which Christ hath committed to kings, until the day of his coming to judge the earth, and to inherit all nations. Though this state, this only surviving Christian state, should—as I think they have in part already done, and are hastening in whole to do—make Christ of no more importance in the state than the Pope or Mohammed; as they boast, making no difference for religion's sake; still I hold, that when this iniquity shall have been consummated, we Christians owe obedience and allegiance all the same. A hard lesson for a Christian to learn; and not to be learned thoroughly, without the knowledge of Christ's kingdom, and the reign of his saints upon the earth; yet, though hard to flesh and blood, ever learned and ever submitted to without a grudge, by Christians of the first three centuries; who in peace and in war, as subjects at home, and as soldiers serving in the armies of Rome, were ever the most loyal, the most obedient, the most valiant, the most undaunted of the emperor's subjects; and yet, not the less, were they faithful to Christ, the emperor's King; and feared God, rather than man;—insomuch that the bishops of the primitive church, the most distinguished for piety, for eloquence, and for learning, from Paul downwards, were ever foremost to take their perilous stand before Cæsar's judgment-seat, and to plead the cause of Christians, and make their

apology against all their accusers, while the bravest centurions of the Roman army would, when called on to worship Cæsar's image, flatly refuse to worship any creature, but Christ only; and for their resolute preference of the King of kings, they would, at the head of their company, or even of their legion, ungird their sword, and take the helmet from their head, and, with the meekness and gentleness of the Lamb, suffer themselves to be beheaded in the sight of the whole army. And in like manner, if it should come to pass that our gracious king, with his high estates of parliament, should make no difference between Christ and antichrist, should take on the profession of antichrist, and become Papal once more; yea, should the devil himself breathe into them the spirit which filled the Pagan emperors of old Rome; our part it is, as priests and as people, as soldiers and as citizens, to walk in the footsteps of the Apostles and Evangelists, and Fathers of the church: neither to refuse tribute, like the Quakers and the Cameronians; nor yet to refuse subjection and prayer, like the Covenanters; nor yet to rise up against our king and slay him, like the Independents and Fifth-Monarchy Men; all of which come of the will of the flesh, and not of God; but, like the first Christians, to take joyfully the spoiling of our goods, and count it all joy, when we are called to suffer for Christ's sake; remembering the words which he spake, saying, "Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the

prophets which were before you." But while thus we express Christian forbearance, and forgiveness of those that rise up against us, it is equally our duty to make confession with the lip, yea, to rebuke and to denounce the judgments of God, which will inevitably come upon a nation that thus dareth to apostatize from Christ. If ever the man of God is called upon, fearlessly and fully to express the mind of God unto his creature man, then it is, when, in the person of the king, and the estates of the kingdom under him, the whole nation is madly proceeding to disfranchise itself; to cast away the Anointed of God from being its King; to tear itself away from the providence and mercy of God; to tear in pieces its charter, its heaven-gifted and heaven-registered charter; and to bring down upon itself the fierce revenge of God;—then a Christian is a patriot; then a Christian is the saviour of his country; then men die, that the nation perish not; then ministers win the crown, and people obtain the palm of martyrdom. For let it be known and most surely believed amongst you, that never, never since the world began, did a people whom God had chosen, and to whom the word of God had come, set at nought his election and his choice, but straightway they were set at nought of God, and became the objects of his fearful, fearful wrath. Look at the Ten Tribes, to this day suffering, broken, and dispersed—yea, and lost from being a nation. Look at the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, scattered and peeled, meted out and trodden under foot for the same rejection of the living God, whom they had known, and, having known, did cast off. Read

the breakings of heart, the strivings of spirit, the wrestlings and contentions of Jeremiah the prophet, when burdened with the weight of God's controversy with the Jewish people. Come now down to that Pagan empire of Rome, in the midst of which the first Christians struggled and strived, preaching Christ, the King of kings, and Lord of lords; but which would not open its ear to counsel, or its heart to pity; and see it stricken and smitten by the hand of God; head and tail, horned head and serpent's tail, smitten to pieces by civil wars, by famine, by the barbarous nations, until it hath left hardly the wreck of a name, hardly the vestige of its existence, save in that Papal superstition which grew out of its roots, when the glory of the tree lay scattered upon the earth. And know ye, that if this land, more enlightened than Judea, and more exalted of God than Pagan Rome, if this land unto which the word of God hath come, shall consummate rebellion against Christ, or take into the fellowship of its councils those who serve antichrist; then, behold, it shall come to pass without delay, that God will make fearful havoc of the rebels against his Son; that he will let the boar from the forest, and every wild beast of the field in upon our vineyard, when we have taken its hedge away; that he will raise up sons of Belial, who will get to themselves a name, by hewing down the carved work of our sanctuary, and strewing the bones of those who worship therein around the grave's mouth, like one who cutteth and cleaveth wood upon the ground. Which things knowing, and well believing, is it the part of a Christian to refrain his lips and keep silence? Woe

to him, if he do! Woe to the land, if he do! And woe to the church if he do! But if in such a time he lift up his voice, and cry aloud, then shall he save his own soul, and the souls of all who give ear to him, and bear themselves with the like fortitude and with the like forbearance.

I do not encourage you, O disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ, thus to carry yourselves because of any consequences which will flow from such dutiful subjection unto the powers that be, through means of such faithful testimony to Christ, the head of power; because it is your duty so to carry yourselves, in despite and in defiance of all the malice of the devil, remembering that he can only kill the body, but that God can destroy both soul and body in hell-fire for ever. But, forasmuch as God hath in his wisdom connected good consequences with good actions, I think it not amiss in this place, to open a little the way in which such a stedfast protestation of the truth, conjoined with such a patient endurance of all things for the sake of the truth, do work together the glory of God and the good of men. In the primitive times, the refusal of the Christians to worship the image of the emperor, and do sacrifice to the heathen idols, was the cause why they were put to death. They would not yield Divine honours to a man, nor would they worship any but the living and true God. They became at once protestants against Paganism and Idolatry. They contradicted the false foundations, both of the state and of the church. And being most careful to shew, by their obedience in all other respects, by their innocence of life, good morals

and dutiful subjection, that they were not moved by any disloyal, misanthropic, or impious principles; but only by their reverence of the one living and true God, and of his Son Jesus Christ, it came to pass that men's minds were brought to consider that false religion which heretofore they had received upon mere tradition, and to inquire on what principles of right reason and good morals it rested: beholding how patiently and meekly these men endured all things for the sake of their faith, they were likewise led to consider that faith of Christ which made them so patient of evil, and so fruitful of good. The more notorious and public this great controversy was made, the more the truth gained; until at length, at the end of little more than a century, the Pagan temples began to be utterly deserted, and in two centuries more the Christian religion had obtained the upper hand in the Roman empire. During these ages of persecution, there were no insurrections of the Christians, no levying of war against the lawful prince, no disobedience of his decrees, no unwillingness to submit to death, but, contrarywise great, loyalty to the king, great fidelity to the laws, great readiness to meet death in all its terrors. Now we have the authority of Scripture for saying, that to the faithfulness of these martyrs it was due, that Paganism was subverted. They overcame the devil, incarnate, or rather energetic, in the Roman empire, by the word of their testimony; and they loved not their lives unto the death. To their patience and dutifulness the Lord at length granted that a Christian should sit upon the throne of empire. Paganism was

subverted by the martyrs who suffered in the first ten persecutions of the church.

Again; look how, at the Reformation, and before it, the same effect followed from the same cause. The martyrs in the time of the Lollards, both in Scotland and in England, were men without guile, and without offence. They were never taken with arms in their hands; they never rose against the authority of the king; only they testified diligently against the usurpation of the bishop of Rome, and refused his doctrine of transubstantiation and the abomination of the mass, and would not yield to any ordinance of a king, to any ordinance of a man, which should require of them Divine honours to a consecrated wafer. The ancient martyrs would not worship the emperor's image; the martyrs under the Papacy would not worship the host: and to their faithful testimony and long suffering, God did at length grant the establishment of the Protestant faith in England, by the authority of Edward; and in Scotland, by the authority of the Regent and the State; and so the Protestant faith became the established religion of this kingdom. Up to this time, I say, there were no insurrections or resistances of the civil power made within this island by the Protestants, who laid down their lives meekly, as also did the fathers. Then, indeed, the Papal faction in the kingdom did labour, with all the malice and subtilty of the devil, to regain its lost authority; and now the question became a national, and not a Protestant question. The victory was given to the martyrs when the king and his estates solemnly abjured the Papacy,

and adopted the Reformed doctrine.—And thus it is, dear brethren, that God, after his people have suffered awhile, doth give them rest and reward, even in this life.

Encouraged by these examples, I would have you, dearly beloved brethren, every one, to testify at this time, with solemn and earnest remonstrance, against all symbolizing with the Papal system. There should no idolater of the host, there should no believer in the mass, have any authority in a kingdom which worshippeth the Lord and his anointed. It is too great an evil that such idolatry should be practised by any of the subjects of the kingdom; but it is a thing beyond Christ's endurance, that it should be practised by the servants of his vicegerents. Nevertheless, dear brethren, while you are nothing ashamed, but otherwise count it all honour to bear your testimony against all such abominations, do it with all loyalty, with all love, with all reverence, yea with all veneration of the king, and of the powers that be. Have no fellowship with violent and factious men, bear your testimony with the meekness of wisdom, with the dutifulness of citizens; and if it should please the Lord to permit the great evil to be consummated, receive it with contrition of heart, as a sore chastisement for our sins, with tribulation of spirit, as the ushering in of evil times. But flinch not from suffering; flee not from the fellowship of suffering. If, indeed, persecution should ever arise,—as when were the faithful ever promised exemption from it?—you may avail yourselves of the Lord's permission, when persecuted in one city, to flee unto another. But let us hope better things;

let us speak of better things; let us hope that, if now ye will be faithful in your testimony, and constant in your prayers, it may please the Lord to turn away from us his anger, and to deliver us from the threatened evil. Oh, I pray you to adorn the doctrine of God your Saviour, at this time, by forbearing all violence, all irreverence, by guarding against all intemperance in your speeches, by restraining all ebullitions of temper, by reserving the depth of your sorrow and lamentation, the outpourings of your grief and vexation, rather for ear of God who heareth the cry of the distressed, than for the ear of men who have forgotten all principles of Divine government; who can no longer understand them, being I think given up to ignorance and error; in whose presence, nevertheless, quail not, neither be silent to declare unto them, with grief, that they are the enemies of the dignity and Lordship of Christ. But give not unto such contemners the more delicate and holy affections of your heart, to be torn with derision. I say again, reserve them for God, and for the ear of those who know the Lord; remembering the prophecy of Malachi, "That they that feared the Lord talked together, and a book of remembrance was kept for those who feared the Lord, and thought upon his name; and I will remember them in the day that I make up my jewels."—Take these exhortations, dearly beloved brethren, for they are much needed in these times, and they do naturally flow from this the first head of our discourse, concerning the foundations of power and of subjection. And now I proceed to the second head of discourse, to shew the true doctrine concerning the church.

II. The doctrine laid down above, concerning the dignity and office of kings, concerning the duty and extent of subjection, is altogether universal without any exception whatsoever. Christ himself gave the example of it always, even unto the death, as also did the apostles, with all the bishops of the primitive church; whom nothing could tempt, whom nothing could terrify from looking upon the magistrate as the minister of God,—to whom we must be in subjection, not for fear only, but likewise for conscience sake. All doctrines, therefore, afterwards introduced into the church, concerning the exemption of ecclesiastical persons from the ordinary operation of civil law because of their peculiar sanctity, are impostures of cunning ambition, and subversions of the prerogative of Christ's vicegerency. And all doctrines, introduced in a still later age of the church, declaring not only exemption from, but also superiority to, the civil tribunal—asserting for the bishop of Rome the supremacy, not of ecclesiastical persons only, but also of magistrates and of kings,—are the most daring and the most wicked contradictions of holy Scripture, of Christ's example, of the apostolic traditions, and of the primitive practice of the church. Yet is there no absurdity so great, but that it resteth at bottom upon a foundation of truth; nor is there any error so hideous, but that it hath in it a certain mixture of truth, to commend it to the reception of men. Pure falsehood seemeth to be the attribute and atmosphere of a pure devil: it always requireth some mixture of truth to commend it unto men; and therefore we may say, that there is no error, even

of the Church of Rome, which will not reward inquiry into the truth.—To see at once the ground of this error, and the true dignity and power of the church, it will be necessarythat I enter a little into detail. The powers given by our Lord unto the church, are exceeding great: "Unto you I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven; whatsoever ye bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; whatsoever ye loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." "Whatsoever any two or three of you shall ask in my name it shall be done unto you, of my Father which is in heaven:" and in a certain passage, where the Holy Ghost is speaking of the dignity of Christ, it is said, "when he raised him from the dead, and set him at his own right hand, in the heavenly places, far above all principality and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come; and hath put all things under his feet, and given him to be the Head over all things to the church, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all." These passages speak the doctrine wholly spiritual concerning the church, and do certainly exalt her, into a dignity higher far than the kings of the earth; higher far than principalities and powers, in heaven above; and so much nearer and dearer to Christ than them all, as the body is nearer and dearer to the head than are the things which are under its feet. With this idea which represents the dignity of every saint, ambition hath only to work, in order to bring out all the frightful arrogance and pretensions of the Papacy: just as, under the Jewish dispensation, the ambition of

the natural man, working upon the declarations of God's special love, peculiar care, and eternal exaltation of Abraham's seed, did bring out that frightful state of opinion concerning themselves, which made the Jewish people reject the Messiah with disdain, and precipitate themselves upon that stone of stumbling; so the natural man, working with those higher dignities, those noblest immunities in God's creation, those transcendent gifts and occupations through eternity lavished by God upon the Christian church, did produce that most hideous and abominable system of falsehood,—which our fathers always denominated the accursed Papistry, and which is destined yet to resist Christ coming in his glory, as the Jews resisted him coming in his humility,—which is destined to be smitten and ground into powder by that same stone upon which the Jewish nation stumbled and fell, and were broken, but not destroyed. And thus it is, the natural man, with his carnal mind, taking hold of, and abusing God's most excellent truth, will ever turn it into most destructive error, through the power, and malice, and artifice of the devil. The Papacy is the mystery of the human heart brought into manifestation. Whenever I look upon it, I tremble at the image of myself. The devil is a poor slave, a poor impotent unproductive creature, until he can insinuate himself into the human soul, and use her mighty energies for finding out and producing many inventions. But what then is the true use of those most high and holy, most powerful and noble, dignities of the church? The true use of them is to believe them, and to submit unto them.

The church on earth hath indeed those pre-eminent prerogatives contained in the passages above: whom she looseth, he is loosed in heaven; whom she bindeth, he is bound in heaven. The power of the keys she truly possesseth, and none may intermeddle with her in the use thereof. All men who believe and are baptized must give this jurisdiction to the church; must look upon her absolution, as the absolution of Christ, and her excommunication, as the excommunication of Christ, and her teaching, and her baptism, and all her sacraments, we must in like manner regard. And if this we refuse, we do in deed and in truth deny the jurisdiction of the church, and are guilty of no less an offence against Christ, than if we denied the jurisdiction of the king. Here, then, are two irresistible, and inviolable jurisdictions, under which a man is placed by the laws of God: yea, verily it is even so. And observe the distinctness of the two, and the superiority of each within its own province. The state hath to do with all things which concern the visible; the church, with all things which concern the invisible. Every thing which is under the organ of sight, belongeth to the king; every thing which is under the organ of faith, belongeth to the church. The church cannot lay a finger upon a man to harm his person, but instantly Christ is offended in the person of the king: the king cannot lay a finger upon the faith or discipline of the church, but instantly Christ is offended in his church. The king is as much subject to the church in spiritual things, as the church is subject to the king in all temporal things. The one binds in heaven, the other binds

on earth. The one hath power to kill the body, the other hath power to kill the soul.

I know that it is the custom of these ignorant times, to look upon the doctrine advanced above concerning the church, and maintained by all our Reformers, as the doctrine of men not yet emancipated from the spirit of the Papacy, and who understood not the principles of toleration and civil liberty. That they were emancipated from the spirit of the Papacy, is most manifest from all the words which they have written, and from all the works which they have done, and from all the sufferings which they endured. That they were not acquainted with the principles of toleration, as now held by liberal, and what are called enlightened, statesmen, I do well believe. They would have pronounced them the toleration of schism, and the toleration of heresy; and they would have died sooner than they would have breathed a word of approbation in that behalf. And here am I, a minister of God, who am not ashamed to avow, that I in like manner abhor the principle of liberality which would speak otherwise than with abhorrence of such toleration as is now applauded, and about to be established. But it is not to justify our fathers, nor yet to avouch my own faith, that I now write, but to open fundamental points of doctrine concerning the church and the state. While the church maintaineth such high doctrine concerning her indefeasible right of supremacy in things spiritual, she never presumeth to dictate to the state, much less to arrogate its powers unto herself. To counsel and to advise, to speak the truth unto kings and unto magistrates; to entreat them with all love, as her other children, and only

with the more diligence to instruct them, according to the greater charge and responsibility with which they are entrusted;—this is the extent of her power, and her pretensions. She may even go the length of excommunicating a magistrate or a king; but, having done so, she doth not pretend to interfere with his jurisdiction. She is not less the subject, because she hath done so. Should the king require and command the bishop who had excommunicated him to be led to the stake, he must obey; not for fear, but for conscience sake. When Ambrose of Milan withstood the Emperor Theodosius at the door of the church, and forbad him admission until he had done penance for certain deeds inconsistent with a Christian, he did well. But if Theodosius, instead of carrying himself like a good Christian, and submitting to penance, had resisted the discipline of the church, conceived aught against the minister of Christ, and consigned him to bonds, or exile, or death; then would he have committed a sin, which, unless he repented, would have excluded him from the kingdom of heaven, and upon which the church might have pronounced the sentence of the greater excommunication. But, in such a case, Ambrose, even after the church had excommunicated the Emperor, and regarded him as a heathen man and a publican, would have owed him allegiance and obedience not the less, and tribute, and service, and every other duty of the kingdom. And the church might not have spoken evil of him, they might not have undervalued his dignity, they might not have gainsaid his orders, they might not have slighted his person, they might not have resisted his

power. Hence the language, the beautiful language of our Scottish Reformers, when they spake of the gracious clothing with which the magistrate was clothed, by becoming a Christian magistrate; meaning thereby that his rights as a person, his powers as an officer of God, the true dimensions of his being, were nothing added to, but only clothed upon, by his becoming Christian. Gracious garments were given to him for the comfort of the church, which, if it should please God in his anger to take away, he was not the less to be feared, and to be recognised as the minister of God, whom to resist is to resist God.

Having thus opened the dignity and authority of the church, in spiritual matters as much supreme as is the dignity and authority of the magistrate in matters temporal; we may now proceed to shew forth, in the next place, the necessity which there is of keeping these two jurisdictions separate and distinct, until the coming of the Lord,—in whose person, after he rose from the dead, they became united, and in his person only can be united, because he is the only one that is risen from the dead. But when he shall come again, and raise the members of his body, the election, the adoption, from the grave, they shall rise kings and priests, qualified by holiness and by power for uniting in themselves the till-then-divided jurisdiction of the church and of the state. The mystery, the deep and hidden mystery is this, That man that is born of a woman is not fit to hold these two divisions of God's providence; that even when entrusted with one, he faultereth and faileth, and apostatiseth from his God; but

when, by resurrection, he is born from the grave, and begotten from the dead, he shall be fitted not for the divided but for the complete care of God's creatures.

It appeareth both from Scripture and from history, that in the most ancient times, the offices of king and priest resided in the same individual: and it is altogether natural that it should be so; for power should never be separated from holiness, nor can holiness ever be separated from power. The only cause of the weakness, dishonour, and bondage of mankind, is their sin, in the person of Adam; and the only cause of the power, glory, and resurrection of mankind, is their holiness, in the person of Christ. Sin and weakness, holiness and power, are things the most intimately connected in the purpose of God, and in the mind of man, so far as it still representeth the image of its Creator. Therefore when Christ ascended up on high, and was anointed God's King, it was after the order of Melchizedec, who was King of Salem, and Priest of the Most High God. And we, who by him are begotten into his likeness, are destined likewise to be kings and priests. And the Jews in the old time, when they had come out of Egypt, and, being represented by Moses, spake with God in the mount, received from the Lord this message, "I will make you a nation of kings and priests." And throughout all the prophets, the mystery of Christ is declared to be that of a Priest upon his throne: from all which instances and expressions of the Almighty and Unchangeable Mind, it is beyond controversy manifest, that the true estate of dignity in the sight of

God, and that to which he is by progressive steps bringing the world, is the unity of king and priest, of power and holiness, in the same person; and accordingly, the saints in heaven, when looking forward to their consummation, place it herein, that they shall reign as priests and kings upon the earth, which also in the Millennium they do.

Forasmuch then as it is congenial with the Divine purpose in the creation of man, and was the original, and is to be the final constitution of this earth, we are not to wonder that man should ever be striving to reunite these things, royalty and priesthood, in one. And where, you may ask, is the harm: where is the sin of attempting this reunion? This indeed is a question which involveth in it every thing concerning the glory of Christ, and the good of mankind. Let us therefore patiently attempt a solution of it.—The separation between the royal and the priestly office began not with the beginnings of the church. Under the patriarchs, and during the captivity in Egypt, there is no mention of such a separation, which began with the giving of the law, and the constitution of the Jewish kingdom, under which there was paid the strictest attention to this very thing,—a king never officiating as a priest, nor yet a priest as a king. And when Uzziah would take unto him a priest's prerogative, God smote him with leprosy, and so separated him from the kingdom: and thus it continued until the coming of Messiah. During all this time the king was anointed by the priest, to signify that he did not reign in his own right, but in right of the Holy One of Israel. The priest, whose part it is to sanctify unto God, did thus

sanctify the person of the king unto God, that he might be holy in all his actions, and holy in the sight of the people; harmless before God, and unharmed of men. While as yet the power stood in the judge, he might not do any thing momentous in the state, without consulting the Lord by means of the priest; and again the priest might not execute any of the decrees of the Lord, but the judge only;—all this signifying, that the state of separation was unnatural, was a badge and token of our imperfect and sinful state. Yet, being so defended by the fearful sanctions of God, it is truly one of the most solemn and awful of his ordinances. The reason, as it seems to me, for this divorcement, with intimations of a future conjunction, was to teach mankind that holiness must first be attained, before power can be attained; that redemption and regeneration and resurrection must all precede the glory and power of the kingdom. Regeneration of the soul by the Holy Ghost; resurrection of the body by the Holy Ghost; redemption of the inheritance by the Holy Ghost, must all precede our reigning as kings. God's purpose was so framed from the beginning, before the foundation of the world, as that there should be a long period during which the dispensation of purifying and cleansing should proceed: and after this was accomplished, then, and not till then, the dispensation of power and kingdom should proceed. These two periods of the purpose,—the former of purgation from sin, the latter of enjoyment of power,—being essentially separate, it was necessary that the types and symbols by which they were set forth should also

be separate. The dispensation of washing and cleansing and purifying, previous to the going in unto the king, and the sitting beside him on his throne, hath been running since the time of Abraham, and shall continue until the number of the elect shall be accomplished, and the kingdom shall come. It is properly the dispensation or covenant of imputed righteousness made with Abraham, and into which we have entered; and it was shadowed out by the priesthood under the Law, and is still shadowed out under the Gospel. But the dispensation which is yet to come, is the dispensation of power and kingdom; in which those shall reign who have been sanctified under the dispensation of righteousness imputed to faith. No one can be a king of God's kingdom, until he is sanctified—body, soul, and spirit,—not only by the regeneration, but also by the resurrection. Now this dispensation of hope yet to come, is shadowed out under the Law, in the kingdom of David and Solomon and their rightful successors, as it is also since the destruction of the Jewish state, shadowed forth in rightly regulated Christian kingdoms. And this is the ground of that most solemn and religious separation of priesthood and royalty, which may not be united in any person upon earth, until Christ shall come with those royal priests whom he has been preparing, by communicating to their faith of his own finished righteousness. If any one during this age should take upon himself to unite these two offices, it would be an express contradiction of God's purpose, that no one should be a king and priest otherwise than by holy resurrection. It would be

also to deny Christ's prerogative to be the only King and Priest, because he is the only risen man. It would be to destroy the present belief in imputed righteousness, which we believe in for the very purpose of qualifying us to be kings. It would be to destroy the hope of the kingdom, by setting it up before the time, and making it a present thing. It would be to change the times and covenants of God, to confound the age that now is, with the age that is to come; and the covenant that now is of imputed righteousness, with the covenant that is to be of inherent righteousness. It would bring in indulgence, pride, sensuality, devilishness, upon the church, in the room of patience, humility, temperance, and hope. And upon the state it would bring in tyranny, blasphemy, the assumption of Divine honour, and every other evil thing. For these fundamental reasons, and many others which will appear in the sequel of this discourse, it is essential to the purpose of God, that these two things, priesthood and royalty, which in the beginning met together in one person, should continue separate till Christ shall come again, until power and holiness shall be united in the same persons who are the subjects of the first resurrection.

Now, it hath ever been the artifice of Satan, his great manœuvre of state, alas! too successful,—his great machination against our great Melchizedec hath it always been, to unite these two offices in one, that thereby he might destroy the dependence of both upon our Christ, and bring them into dependence upon himself.—Let me now open a little this idea, how the uniting of the royalty and

priesthood doth remove the dependence of both, from Christ unto the devil. The king, so long as he cannot intermeddle in the church, hath a distinct limit put to his power, and is most effectually prevented from arrogating to himself tyranny over the persons of his subjects, and Divine honours unto his own person. For, consider what the church is; not a silent thing, but full of all manner of voices concerning God, concerning Christ, concerning grace and righteousness, and mercy and peace, and every other holy and heavenly thing. Nor is the church an inactive thing, but, all the day long, all the year round, employed in holy offices, not only teaching their duties unto all men, but likewise, with pastoral care, seeing that these duties be righteously discharged, not only teaching doctrine, but exercising discipline within the bounds of the kingdom. And, what is discipline, but law under the form of love? In this discipline of the church, the king may as little interfere as in its doctrine. It belongeth to the church to regulate it, and likewise to enforce it; and it is of the free will of every member of the church to submit to it or not, according to his fear of God, according to his love of Christ, and his fellowship with the Holy Ghost. While the king therefore interposeth not within the pale of the church, there is not only a bound set within which he cannot go, a limit to his will, but there is also the constant operation of such holy principles and holy practices, in the bosom of the kingdom, as tend, yea and never fail to produce, the amelioration of every evil thing, the sweetening of every relation, the comforting of every in-

firmity, the prosperity and the honour of every individual in his proper estate. And not only so, but this barrier presented to the will of the king, this operation beyond and above his power, doth ever remind him of the supremacy of the Lord Jesus Christ. Whenever Satan, by all the temptations of high estate, by all the prerogatives of sovereign power, would whisper in his ear that he is independent and irresponsible of all, the continual presence and testimony of the inviolate church, doth ever recal to his mind that there is one, even Christ, who is over him, and with whose church he may not intermeddle. But, if this barrier be broken down, if the king may enter into the sanctuary of the church; to do any of the offices thereof, to alter or to abrogate, to add or to limit; then, behold, there is nothing left to represent the supremacy of Christ over the king. That true check, that only effectual check to arbitrary and tyrannical power, which God hath set and constituted, in the separateness and inviolateness of Christ's church, is removed; and nothing is left of a constitutional and permanent kind, to recal unto the mind of the sovereign that truth, necessary to his own preservation, most wholesome for the well-being of his kingdom,—the truth that Jesus Christ is over him, and hath within his dominions a visible, active, institution with which the king may not intermeddle, before which the king is only as a sinful person, needing the common redemption of all, and to the ordinances of which, he is all submissive and obedient as one of the common people. I have heard it said, that our present king, whom may God long preserve

the great head of the protestation against the union of royalty and priesthood in one person, did say unto the minister who was to preach before him, 'Forget that thy king is before thee, and preach to me as to another man.' This was wisdom, this was the wisdom of a king; this was piety, this was the piety of a king. Now, consider with yourselves what a salutary effect the continual presence of such a feeling to the mind of a sovereign, the open expression of it every Sabbath in the presence of the people; its solemn recognition every time he takes the sacrament, every time he kneels with his family before the Lord, in domestic devotion; consider, I say, what a most wholesome and salutary effect upon his mind, to incline it to the fear of God and the obedience of Christ, must be wrought by the perpetual presence of the sentiment of his inferiority and responsibility to Christ. But if this be broken down, by giving him any ecclesiastical power whatever, then behold there is nothing to remind him of God, and of Christ, as his superior; of his dignity to stand and rule under Him alone; of the spirit in which he should govern, and of the laws and righteousness and equity which he should execute. He therefore doth necessarily become arbitrary, tyrannical, blasphemous, satanic, or else checks are introduced of a violent and of an evil kind, which tend to bring up another error, That the king hath his authority from the people, and is responsible, for the exercise of it, to the people.

Now, let us look at the other side of the question, and consider the evils which accrue, from the priest's taking to himself any of the prerogatives

of the king, from the church arrogating to itself the power of the state. First, the church forgets her subjection, which is the root of all her graces; I say, to be in subjection: though a son, though free, to be in willing subjection is the root of all the Christian graces. This is her self-denial; not merely to deny nature, but to forego for God's purposes the glory to which we have been elected; though sons, to learn obedience by the things which we suffer; though anointed kings and priests, patiently to bear, and bear up against, the devil, the world, and the flesh. When the church therefore taketh to herself power, collateral with or over the state, she doth deny her Lord, and refuse to take up his cross, and through tribulation to enter into his kingdom. There will flow in upon her every form of disobedience and misrule. Faith will not be productive of virtue, knowledge, temperance, patience, godliness, brotherly kindness, and charity. Priestly craft, and priestly pride will domineer in the church, and grievously afflict the state.—Besides this general corruption, two evils of a distinct kind will necessarily be produced in the church. First, she will forget her absent Head, and she will forget her future hope. The holiness of the church doth ever open to her the avenues of power. Men are far more ready to give than she to take; this is one standing temptation: also her sentences of discipline, which are all acts of love,—though severe, not less loving, yet also acts of power within her own jurisdiction,—will be ever tempting her to seek after power, and to deal with the state that they may be put in execution upon the refractory. But if the state yield not to the church that

power which it holdeth not of the church, but of Christ, the church will ever be reminded that she also hath her limits, within which she must restrain herself; that she can go the length of declaring the truth, and inflicting spiritual censure upon the ungodly, but that she can go no further. She cannot intermeddle with the property, with the person, with the liberty, of any of the liege subjects of the king: law is not in her hand, but love only: she representeth grace and truth, but representeth not power upon the earth. Now this continual neighbourhood of power, which she may not intermeddle with, is to her the continual remembrancer of Christ her invisible Head, from whom this power hath its irresistible force, and inviolable sacredness. The state is kept in mind of Christ by the church, and the church is kept in mind of Christ by the state. Now, if the state, forgetting its dignity, and its obligation to rule under Christ, and Christ alone, do succumb to the church in so far as to yield unto her any power whatever, over the property, the persons, or the rights of any of the people; or if the state exempt the ministers of the church from their responsibilities and duties as subjects; and I think also, if the state raise churchmen to offices of magistracy and power, or in any other way yield up its charge into the hands of the church, no matter from what principle or good motive it ariseth, it never faileth in the end to consummate the mystery of iniquity: the church forgetteth that she is a widow; she marrieth herself to the state; the foundations are destroyed, and every thing runneth out of course. Moreover, it is to

subvert the hope of that better kingdom and power, in which the church is born and bred; which power and kingdom, if she have now, she will cease to long for hereafter. God hath put her under subjection of the magistrate; and in his providence he doth commonly bring on her the pains and penalties of the magistrate, for no other end than to quicken her hope and desire of the kingdom that is to come: and it doth stagnate and corrupt all the streams of her affections towards Christ's glorious advent, and coming kingdom, when, from ceasing to be a subject, she cometh to be a potentate. And let this suffice to shew the great evils which accrue both to church and state, when the divided offices of both come to be united in the same body.

III. In handling this second head of discourse concerning the church, we have been led so far to anticipate our third head, which is the connection that should subsist between the church and the state, as to maintain, and prove the negative; to wit, that they should not be blended in one. And having thus established their separate and distinct identity, in the purpose of God, we now come, according to our method, to treat of the nature of that connection which should subsist between the two. Of the great principles laid down above, concerning the distinct identity of church and state, and their necessary separateness, and the paramount duty on the part of every statesman and every churchman, to keep these two things, church and state, from being confused and lost in one another: of this great principle, our blundering Dissenters

and designing liberals, and many feeble-minded churchmen, have made, in these times, the grossest abuse, who, from these premises, do conclude that there should be no established church whatsoever; or, as they term it, that religion should be left to itself, without any patronage or interference of the state. Whether religion shall be established or not, is not a question for the church, but for the state to determine; and what form of it shall be established, is also a purely political question, in the resolution of which the king may take the best of counsel, but for the resolution of which he himself is responsible unto Christ. But, if there be no church by him established, and unto which he yieldeth subjection as a believer, and which yieldeth subjection to him as a subject, then, indeed, the whole beauty and advantage of the divided jurisdiction, temporal and spiritual, is lost. An established church is the church which the king approveth, to whose doctrines, and to whose discipline, he submitteth his faith and walk. When I say the king, I say all those depending upon the king; who form, as it were, the members of the body, through which he exerciseth his kingly office,—his judges for justice, his magistrates for peace, his counsellors for advice, his officers for war. These who are but the hands of the king,—with the king their head, being necessarily subject to Christ, and consulting for his glory, in the exercise of their several functions,—must needs express their fealty to Christ in acknowledging the orthodox faith, and submitting to the wholesome discipline of the church. They cannot choose, therefore, but pre-

fer some form of the Christian church, and this their preference doth in fact establish it. I know nothing else that constitutes an establishment. With respect to the houses and the lands, and other endowments, these are not gifts of any king, or of any government, but the church's inheritance, set apart for religious uses, from the earliest time; yea, from times before the establishment of Christianity. It is the commonty of the nation intended to form a counterbalance to the property of individuals. And men who sacrifice the interests of their personal aggrandisement for the sake of teaching and instructing the commonty, ought not to be stipendiaries upon those whom they instruct; but devoting themselves to the whole, and forgetting private advantage, they are properly rewarded out of that commonty which hath been set apart for such an use. Were it not for such a body of men as are reared in the parish schools, the public schools, and the universities, and who afterwards support the literature, and education, and religion of the land, there would in fact be no commonty, no community, no commonness of principles, of feelings, nor even of language; but every thing would degenerate into selfishness: property would become every thing, the community nothing, and no government in such a state of things could be maintained. But into these matters I enter not, because they belong rather to the statesman than to the divine. And I will proceed, reminding you only that I have shewn how church and state should stand to one another, as mutual representatives of Christ, having each a transcendent dignity and surpassing autho-

rity in its own sphere, but never daring for any sake to step out of their sphere, or interchange their sacred prerogatives.

It appeareth, therefore, from the premises, to be the doctrine of the holy Scripture concerning the connection between the church and the state, that they are constituted in their several places under Christ, each to represent an integrant portion of that fulness which is contained in him; and shall never, till the resurrection of his saints, be united in another person than in him. They are both constituted *jure Divino*, by Divine right, and may not be resisted in their several jurisdictions without resisting God. Heresy and schism is the resistance of the church, in her jurisdiction; rebellion is the resistance of the king, in his. The church shall yet include the kingdom, and the king himself may receive a better crown from the church. But, for the present, they must stand in awful respect of one another, as seeing the absent Christ, each represented in the other. Moreover, they may not, on any account, surrender to each other their several jurisdictions: they may not, upon the peril of apostasy. The king, in yielding up himself to the church, and acknowledging a superior upon earth in visible things, in things, rights, and powers terrestrial, doth betray his Master Christ, and apostatize from God, and bring himself with all his kingdom under the wrathful indignation of God. And the church which doth suffer any king to tread within the holy precincts of doctrine, and discipline, and worship, and government ecclesiastical, doth apostatize from Christ, the Head of the church, the only Head of the church, and make

herself liable to all the judgments of blindness, of error, of corruption, and of death, and of the lake of fire, which have been the fore-ordained judgments upon apostasy. The mutual separateness, the necessary distinctness of these two, church and state, in all their jurisdictions, is the safety and the well-being of both. But while it is a separateness, observe that it is the unity of these two distinct things which constitutes their well-being. It is not such a separateness as our radical Dissenters argue for; that is, government without regard to religion, and religion without regard to government; but it is such a separateness as the reformers of the Church of Scotland set forth, and the martyrs in the times of the second Charles, and the second James, died to defend. For that sectarian error, that the state hath nothing to do with religion, and religion nothing to do with the state, is to take the whole question of the king's and the magistrate's authority, and the people's subjection, out of the jurisdiction of God and Christ, into some other jurisdiction; and what jurisdiction there is besides theirs I know not, save the jurisdiction of the devil. These ignorant men know not whither they drive; but I will tell them: they drive rulers into tyranny, and people into rebellion. For if a king, without respect of God or religion, may rule as he listeth; if a government hath nothing to do with religion in their deliberations and in their actings; if the church of Christ, and the synagogue of Satan, the conclave of the Pope, and the divan of the Turk, and the sanhedrim of the Jew, be all alike; what then? is not government divorced from religion, and is not the magistrate in all his

doings set upon another foundation than the foundation of the fear of God? And can any man, calling himself a Christian, say that this is sound and wholesome doctrine? To whom then responsible, if not to God? These ungodly Christians, these irreligious religionists say, responsible to the people. And to whom are the people responsible, if, as these preach, religion hath nothing to do with politics? The people are responsible to themselves; that is, the people are gods; and where then rest the principles of subjection? Why are the people subject, seeing the people are likewise sovereign? The king is responsible to the people, and yet the people subject to the king. Oh marvellous constitution of society, diabolical substitute for God's holy constitution of church and state! This is distinctness without unity, such as existed in the Pagan times of Christianity, which the schismatics delight in as their *beau ideal* of ecclesiastical polity: they would have the state of Britain become like the state of Pagan Rome; have a pantheon into which the images of all gods may be introduced, and no preference given to Christ above another! This is their patriotism, this is their loyalty, that the king should become alike friendly to subjects of every faith, the government alike maternal to people of every creed! the country a harmonious dwelling-place of men of all religions and of no religion! And then, say they, then would be the halcyon days, then would be the millennial days of the world! And the poor and ignorant wits of them go about to argue, that this is the true condition for the Christian religion to flourish under; and they argue this

because it flourished under Pagan Rome. But how flourished, I ask? By the martyrdom of millions. And wish they millions to be martyred in Britain also? And why were the Christians martyred? Because they were illiberal, they were intolerant. The government was tolerant of all gods, and would have men worship according to their conscience, like our enlightened liberals; but the Christians would not hear of this, and were ever persuading the people to renounce their gods, in despite of the imperial sanction and patronage thereof. But these our enlightened liberal Dissenters, would let our government come into the condition of sanctioning with permission of law, and patronizing with places of trust and power, men of every religion or of no religion; and so would they bring the spirit of our laws and our polity, of our legislature and our executive, to be in direct opposition to the spirit of Christ; so that, when Christians should stand up and testify against, and pray the downfal of, Turk and heretic, and idolater, and infidel, and atheist, he should be in fact going counter to the spirit of the law, and of the administration which looked with equal favour on them all: the certain consequences of which would be, as in the Papal times it was, persecution to the intolerant Christian. So that, in good truth, if God shall suffer the experiment which is now making to tell out its full effect, it will necessarily end, in the long run, by bringing the church into exactly the same straits in which she was under Pagan Rome; and by bringing the state into precisely the same penalty, or rather a far greater penalty, than fell on Pagan Rome,

which was consumed with unheard-of judgments, and weltered for ages in a living death. But we, if such daring apostasy we shall consummate, shall be punished like Babylon, or like Sathan one of the princes, cast headlong into the lake which burneth with fire unquenchable. I know not, in contemplating such a fearful issue, whether I should use one or other of these sayings of St. Paul;—this word, "I would that they were cut off that trouble your peace;" or this other word, "I could wish myself accursed from God, for my brethren's sake, my kinsmen according to the flesh."

There can be no such thing as complete separateness in any of the works of the one God; still less can there be any complete separateness in those functions which meet together and are united in Christ. If so be that Christ is the Prince of the kings of the earth; if so be that the same Christ is Head of the church; then it cannot be but that these two representatives of the same Christ should be intimately related to one another. If they live in the faith of their common responsibility they must ever look upon each other as two loyal and dutiful viceroys of the same king, and support and love one another in their several viceroyalties. It is only when the king forgetteth that he is Christ's vicegerent, for worldly, temporal, and visible government,—it is only when the church forgetteth that she is Christ's vicegerent, for spiritual government, that they can stand apart from one another: and when they stand apart, the church and the state are two empires wholly disunited from one another, ready to fall into discord, and soon to oppose and contra-

dict each other. This way of complete separateness, which is the growing error, and will be the ultimate destruction, of these realms, cannot stand for any length of time. Either the church will become a mere secular institution, representing public opinion, good morals, and respectability of character; or else, if it preserve any unity of doctrine or of discipline, it will come to be in opposition to the indiscriminate liberality of the state, which, casting off the church, must necessarily cast off the Head of the church, and rule no more in the fear of God but in the fear of man. If indeed the ministers of the church will become mere stipendiary servants, paid by the year or the half year, as they have become very generally in the United States; if they shall cease to be the stable, firm, unflinching, and uncompromising servants of Christ, preserving the discipline of the church; then in such a liberal state, as hath been argued above, such a church must be prepared for persecutions, which will end, either in her annihilation, as happened in the primitive churches without the bounds of the Roman empire; or it will end in the conversion of the state itself to more religious and less liberal views of its own responsibility, as happened within the bounds of the Roman empire. The mystery therefore of the relation of church and state, is not intermixture and confusion, nor yet is it complete separateness; but, like every other mystery of God, it is unity in distinctness. Such a union as subsisteth between the Divine and human natures of Christ, where there is perfect distinctness yet closest union; or perhaps, if we understood it, such a distinctness as there is between the body

laid in the grave and the body raised from the grave, which is also one, yet distinct, not separate, but the same substance in a higher form; and as the body risen is the continual hope, and joy, and desire of the body now subsisting in fallen flesh; so is the purity, holiness, and love which existeth in the church, the continual model after which the state should conform itself; the continual perfection unto which the state should aspire. But this is so important an idea, and hath been so prolific of all the good this realm possesseth, that I judge it worthy of a more full and enlarged consideration.

The distinctness in union of the church and state is not only profitable for the end set forth above, of preserving in both the memory of Christ Jesus, the great Head of both, and checking the disposition of power to become arbitrary and cast off responsibility; but also, under God, it is the great means of introducing into states those principles of love by which alone the church ought to be governed. The church, wherever it comes, finds the state of civil government either disorganized by party and faction, or else overruled by arbitrary and tyrannical power; yet she suffereth no change, nor accommodation to the powers that be, in her constitution. Her office-bearers, or spiritual magistrates, are chosen and set apart by reason of their blamelessness, and after due examination hath been taken of their fitness for their office; and they govern in their places with the spirit of power, and of love, and of a sound mind: the people live in brotherhood, more desirous of

the common good, more desirous of the glory of Christ, than of any peculiar or personal advantage. Every reward and every punishment is derived from the invisible things of God, and not from the visible things of this world. In all things therefore the church, with its ecclesiastical polity, is, unto the state where God hath placed it, a model of that which civil polity ought to be; that is, in respect to its government. For the government of the church is nothing else than a visible representation of the government of Christ, as Priest and King. The church visible is not one thing, and the church invisible another thing, having each its distinct laws and principles of government: they are parts of the same body under the same Head; the one suffering, the other having suffered and now enjoying. Forasmuch then, as the visible church is of the invisible a part, and under Christ's regiment constituted and ordered in all things, it doth necessarily follow, that wherever its holy government is duly administered, there hath the king or magistrate not only information concerning the supremacy of Christ, but likewise a pattern after which to regulate all things that pertain to power and to equity. Men schooled in the church stand up before the king, or rather by the providence of God are brought near the king, to counsel him respecting that which pertaineth to his royal charge. Haply, as Pharoah entertained Joseph, he doth entertain this messenger of the church; and the land is preserved: haply he rejecteth his counsel, and treateth him with indignity; and the land is chastised. In

some way or other, God seconds the efforts of faithful men, and thus nations and kingdoms are subdued unto the obedience of Christ.

I have read much, and meditated more, concerning God's dealings with kings and kingdoms, and this have I found to be a constant law of his proceeding. When his heart is towards any king or kingdom for good, he moveth some Christian man to go thither on some errand or other, who least of all doth think that he is to stand before the king: but, in God's own mysterious way, his servant is brought into the royal presence, and there is caused to testify concerning God and Christ, by whom kings reign and princes decree justice. The king's heart is inclined by God to the truth; and through him the church finds patronage and establishment in his kingdom. From the days of Abraham down to the present time, it hath been ever so. Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph, and Moses and Aaron, all stood before kings, and ministered in their hearing the word of the living God; and so did all the prophets, from Samuel downwards; and Daniel and the three children, and Ezra and Nehemiah, and Mordecai and Esther, all were brought before the chief men of the earth. And our Lord and all the Apostles, and the most distinguished of the Fathers of the church, and the Missionaries who went from Saxon England to the German and Northern tribes, and the Reformers, without almost an exception, were brought into the neighbourhood of kings; and through the patronage of kings or chief governors were they protected, and their work prospered. And even now, those missionary

societies which have no respect whatever for established churches, and consider the king's intermeddling with religion, to be a great abomination, are constrained to receive their success through the means of kings: both in the Society and Sandwich Islands, their Missionaries have by the providence of God been connected with the kings, and through the kings their work hath at length received establishment. And of this they make their boast, as indeed they well may: but why then complain that our king should have done the same in his dominions? In this method of God's procedure, I do see his reverence for kings and magistrates, his honour of his own ordinance. I do perceive also, that it is his will, the establishment of religion should emanate, not from the people, but from the powers that be. And I deny that Scotland was an exception to this rule, for to the Regent Murray it is due, that the Presbyterian Church of Scotland was established; and to William the Third it is due, that it was established again. I do not say that the establishment of the church by the king is of itself enough to Christianize his kingdom; nor that it should be waited for by any preacher of the Gospel; but when it comes, it ought not to be despised, but rather received as a great boon from the hand of God. For it adds to the authority of the preacher, and it gives him honour in the sight of the people, and it protects him from the violence of wicked men. But the highest and the best thing which it does, is, that it brings the king himself into communication with those who can instruct him in his duty to God and man; and brings him into fellowship with

the church, which may be to him a pattern of holy government. I say again, that—except in the case of colonies going out from a Christian country, and settling with their religion, which was the case with America—there is not an instance upon record of the Gospel being planted in any country, without an appeal being made by God in its behalf unto the king or chief magistrate of the country, who are thereby brought to act either in the way of opposition, or in the way of encouragement. If in the way of opposition, then endeth it generally in the subversion of that dynasty, as in the case of the Pagan emperors, and in the family of the Stuarts. And another race is raised up in their stead, through whom the church is established in honour. This is the way in which I find that God doth use his church, for the amelioration of the government of kings.

The connection, therefore, between church and state, is necessary for the well-being of both; is a mutual acknowledgment, on the part of each other, of that common stem out of which they grow. For the state to establish the church, is an act of homage unto Christ; for the church to be established, and to help the state with its instruction, prayer, and faith, is an act of dutifulness unto the magistrate, and unto Christ whom he represents. It is not therefore a matter of convenience nor of expediency, but a matter of absolute and peremptory duty, that there should exist such a connection between church and state, as preserving the identity of both will yet bring them into harmony and union through their common Head, the Lord Jesus Christ. Each king

and kingdom and nation hath therefore entire power within itself of reforming the church, and bringing it back to the original constitution of the Holy Scriptures: they have not the power of conforming it to any model which the Scripture authorizeth not. In the plenitude of that power acting, the realm of England and the realm of Scotland did reform the churches within their bounds, without leave asked either of the bishop of Rome or of a general council: even as Josiah did, they did. And for one realm to attempt to interfere with another in this high duty, otherwise than by helping it forward, is an act of the most violent and unwarrantable kind. But such reformations always involve the fullest consent of the church; for the church may not be imposed upon, contrary to her own judgment; and when a national church hath been thus set up, I think it is no less than the sin of schism to set up in that land another altar than that which the church acknowledgeth; and I think, moreover, that it is an act of undutifulness and disloyalty to the king, and of insubordination to the laws which have constituted the church within the kingdom.—With respect to the question of loyalty and subjection, I am not so good a judge, and cannot pronounce so definitely; but with respect to the question of schism, I have not any doubt whatever. I hold it to be an act of schism, to go forth and separate from any church which is not of the Apostasy. There is a command to come out of Babylon; and if any one be satisfied in his own mind that the Church of England and Church of Scotland are apostates, let him by all means go forth from them,

and not be partaker of their sins and of their plagues: but believing as the Dissenters and Seceders do, that they are true churches, to have come forth of them and separated, and set up another altar, is, I have no doubt, the sin of schism, and worthy of the sentence of excommunication. They might in the bosom of the church have stood up for a holier and stricter discipline; they might have testified all their life long and witnessed; but they ought never to have separated from the ordinances and sacraments of a true church. I say again, it is the sin of schism which was always deemed worthy of excommunication in the primitive church.—And when any body of the king's subjects have separated themselves from the church which the constitutions of the kingdom have established, what is the proper retort for such an action? persecution? Certainly not: the king is the father of his people. Confiscation of goods or imprisonment? Certainly not: the church that would ask for such a punishment, is a cruel mother; and the king who would yield to it, is a cruel father of his people. What then is the righteous retort? The righteous retort on the part of the church is, separation of confidence from such persons as have set her discipline and her doctrine at nought, in order that they may feel the distress which their contumacy hath brought upon them. And when they are so visited with relenting, it is her part to return unto them with pity and compassion, and to restore them in the spirit of love and meekness. And the righteous retort on the part of the state towards such contumacious members of the church, is to refuse

them confidence, and to deprive them of places of trust; for why advance into trustful places under Christ those whom the church of Christ have deemed schismatical? If they have broken the bonds of the church, they will break the bonds of the state also. And when it was so ordained in this kingdom, the kingdom was ordered aright; but now that the ordinance hath been changed, the kingdom is also changed along with it. My advice therefore to all amongst the sectaries in this land, who believe that the churches which are established are true churches, and not in a state of apostasy, is to return into the bosom of the church with what speed they may, confessing the sin of schism, and seeking absolution from the same.—I am fully aware of the feeling which will be produced in many, and in many whom I highly esteem, by what is written above; but I must not respect the persons of men, nor seek their favour, when I am in the service of the church of Christ, of whose unity and integrity I am appointed a guardian. I have been laying down the doctrine of the unity of the church: it is the doctrine according to which every church seeketh to order its affairs: and therefore every one who respecteth discipline, ought to respect the principles upon which I have argued; and if in the argument I have erred, they ought to seek with all diligence to set me right, and I trust I shall ever be willing to give ear to the admonitions of a brother.

I have one word more to say, before finally closing this discourse, and I am glad that this word should have been the last. It is with respect

to the sin of schism, of which the Churches of England and of Scotland are guilty towards one another. By the same right by which the realm of England did establish within her borders the Church of England, according to the model of the Reformed Latin Church; by the same right did the realm of Scotland establish within its borders the Church of Scotland, according to the model of the primitive Apostolic Church. They stand therefore upon an equal dignity in the eye of the united states of England and Scotland. And, because there are differences in the constitutions of these churches, things in each which each prefer, they are not therefore to practise the one against the other; nor are they to bear malice and bitterness the one to the other; but being convinced that each is not of the Apostasy, but of the true church of God, they ought to hold brotherly love one to another: and this they did until the time of Laud, or at least until after the union of the crowns, since which time the Church of England hath done us much wrong, which we ought not to retaliate. She hath refused to us the right hand of fellowship; the more is she to be pitied, and to be mourned over for her uncharitableness: but let not us follow her example; and, I am glad to say, the church, as a body, hath not done so. There is no law to prevent the ministers of Scotland from admitting ministers of England into their pulpits. The General Assembly hath indeed given, as I understand, recommendations or instructions to that effect; but this is not law, and I know there are many ministers of the church who have spirit and charity enough

to refuse the restraint. I earnestly desire, and have much sought to bring about unity in this matter, between the churches established upon an equal footing of dignity in this land: and for my own part, by the help of God, I will never retaliate the wrong, the grievous wrong, of not having the ordination of the Church of Scotland acknowledged by the Church of England. On her part it is a great act of cruelty, a fearful act of schism, to have thus dared to excommunicate the clergy of a church, and the people of a nation; and sore, sore hath she paid the penalty of it; and a day of sorer tribulation and dishonour still is before her, through which, that she may be preserved, I, believing her to be a true church, though in this matter sorely to be blamed, do devoutly pray, and shall ever be found helpful to her prosperity. Feeling as I do the gratitude which I and my brethren, and our people of the Scottish stock, do enjoy, in being permitted with freedom and with honour to worship God according to our conscience, in this great city, the metropolis of her kingdom, and within the jurisdiction of one of her bishops, I am thankful, and will ever teach my people to be thankful unto God, and to the Church of England, and to the realm of England, for this great privilege which we enjoy.

And now I have finished this long discourse, concerning God's dealing with kingdoms. It was undertaken, at no man's suggestion, with a view to do my little part in the great struggle which they that know the Lord, and his counsels, and

his purposes, are making against the Papacy. They are the testimony of a Minister of the Scottish Church, unto his king and his fellow-subjects, concerning that which ought to reign over all men, governors and governed, church and state,—the glory of God, and the good of men. In that great struggle we have in so far failed. God hath seen it good to refuse our prayer. It is ours to be resigned to his will; but nevertheless to struggle, and strain every nerve for his glory and the good of the church and kingdom. The battle is not over: the enemy hath taken two of our strongest defences, and made a lodgement within our leaguer; but the battle is not won, our leaguer is not lost. The enemy will not rest; he will renew his onset like the waves of the sea; and therefore I have written these things, that when the next summons shall call us to our defence, we may know better the value of that for which we contend, and may contend for it the more earnestly. Therefore I have written and published these things, because I believe them to be the truth, the eternal verity of God. Our interpretations may be disputed, our principles cannot. The doctrine which I have laid down concerning the church and the kingdom is true: I know it to be true, and I believe that it cannot be shaken; and for the interpretation there is a body of evidence, from an hundred, I may say a thousand, different quarters obtained, which will continue to give it that weight which it hath long had in the Christian church. But the one truth, concerning the church and the kingdom, which I have interwoven in every part of this discourse is,

I say again, not to be shaken. Rejected it will be, as an old tale that hath been often told, derided as a wonderful instance of bigotry and illiberality, proscribed perhaps as offensive to pious ears, and hurtful to the cause of charity: but I believe it to be true, and therefore I have spoken it. And as to all the cavils which may be directed against it, I am now so fully convinced that there is either no knowledge or no justice in those who govern public opinion, that I am grown into indifference what may be said in this day, and by this generation of men, concerning any point of truth. There is nothing so fixed in the word of God, there is nothing so confirmed by the common consent of orthodox and pious men, which shall not now be resisted and gainsaid by persons esteemed both orthodox and pious: in which case, all that can be done is to appeal to better men, and better times; to appeal to God, and to his judgment seat; to wait the coming of Christ, when every man's work shall be made manifest, for it shall be tried by fire. Then shall it be made apparent whether this truth, which I have endeavoured in these discourses to open, be of the silver, gold, and precious stones, which will endure the fire; or whether it be of the wood, the hay, and the stubble, which the fire shall consume.—Meanwhile, O my God, I desire to give thee the glory of all the truth which my erroneous and foolish mind is able to apprehend, of all the love which my hard and stony heart is able to feel. If my natural man be preserved against the schisms and heresies which are the fruits of the flesh, thy holy Name, thy

good Spirit be praised. And O let it please thee, Father of the faithful, and Head of the church, to make these thoughts which I have uttered, and these words in which I have uttered them, profitable unto thy body, which is the church,—profitable unto the world, for which thou hast given thyself, the Lamb that taketh away its sin. This prayer, offered as I trust from the Spirit, do thou, O Father, hear and answer, for the sake of thy dear Son, Jesus Christ our Lord.

FINIS.

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